DOUBLE ISSUE

The Nation.

MEXICO'S TIGER STIRS
The Editors

BLOGGERS VS. THE MSM
akshmi Chaudhry

BORN-AGAIN RUBINOMICS
William Greider

CATHARINE MacKINNON, EGAL WEAPON
artha Nussbaum

GREEN GOES GRASSROOTS

THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT TODAY
by MARK HERTSGAARD

JULY 31 /AUGUST 7, 2006
www.thenation.com

Listen to RadioNation w/ Laura Flanders
Sat. & Sun. 5pm-7pm
KQKE, 960AM, San Francisco

#BXMKBXM **********AUTO** 5-DIGIT 94301
#UNZ0555B096 1#302604 TW

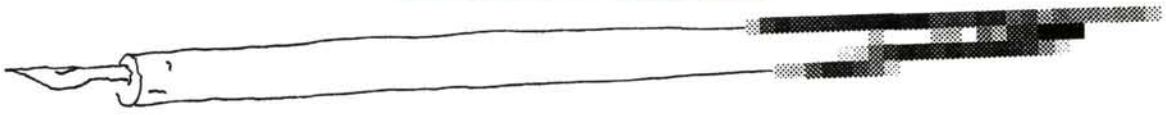
FEB 05 07
USPA

RON K UNZ
555 BRYANT ST 371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704

P0014

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS



CHRISTOPH NIEMANN

'WAR IS PERSONAL'

Wickliffe, Ohio

■ A response to Eugene Richards's July 10 photo essay, "War Is Personal—III": My 20-year-old son is over there. Last week he was driving behind a vehicle that was hit by an IED. All three of the marines were killed. Another marine, in his unit, was killed. I saw a picture of my son on his unit's website. They were paying tribute to the marine from his unit who was killed. You will never know the pain this causes me—to look at my beautiful son, and how lost and alone he looks in this picture. There are many other marines around him listening to whoever is speaking. But he stuck out because of his posture. I only knew it was him because I could see his name on his shirt. I could not see all of his face, but I could see enough to break my heart.

I hated this war before it started, because I knew it was an illegal war of aggression. When my son joined the Marines I pleaded with him to change his mind. (His father and I are both former marines.) This is something he has always wanted to do. I am certain he wishes he had never joined. I spoke with him last Saturday. He forced himself to laugh if I tried to cheer him up by saying something amusing. He is a big kid—muscular. He was a four-year letter man in high school football. He used to be very laid back and easy-going. I know just by speaking with him and seeing his picture that he has changed. The beautiful young man I love so much has been changed by the callous greed and lies of a President who has no regard for the military. Who makes war just because he can. Who lied us into a war the Nuremberg Tribunal would have found punishable.

This President and his Administration do not care about all Americans—only those with the biggest bank accounts. They send other people's children to do something they would never send their own to do. I pray for my son daily, as I do for all our kids. I hope when this is all over that Bush and Cheney and all responsible for this tragedy will stand trial in a world court. They have ruined a generation of young people with their lies. KIM HILLSTROM

DNC—SOUNDS LIKE A PLAN!

Washington, DC

■ Unfortunately, Ari Berman's July 17/24 "Where's the Plan, Democrats?" fails to tell the whole story about the Democratic National Committee's overall plans for the 2006 elections and our readiness to take back the Congress while winning down-ballot races and attending to the urgently needed job of rebuilding and strengthening our party's infrastructure. Here are the facts.

Contrary to Berman's implication, the DNC has a sound plan for 2006 that contemplates the investment of unprecedented resources. For the 2006 races the DNC will spend upward of $11 million in hard money (we can no longer raise soft money) helping to elect Democrats at every level, across America. We will spend roughly ten times what the DNC was able to do with hard money four years ago, when it spent $1.6 million for coordinated campaigns.

What Berman did not tell readers is that he requested to see our 2006 political plan. We declined his request. As we explained to Berman, we won't allow any reporter to review and publish our 2006 campaign strategy five months before election day, freely sharing our playbook with Karl Rove and the Republican Party. That's not because we don't have a plan; it's because we want to win.

Berman cites blind quotes about hopes that the DNC would take the lead in a field organization. What Berman failed to tell *Nation* readers is that, in fact, we have always intended to play this role and are doing so partly out of concern that the 2006 Democratic efforts not repeat the mistakes of 2002, when too great an emphasis was placed solely on television advertising. In 1998 and 2002 millions were spent almost exclusively on television advertising. Looking at the results, most would conclude that the strategy didn't work. We agree that we cannot make those same mistakes again, and we will not.

Beyond the focus on House and Senate races contemplated by our 2006 plan, the DNC is also investing to win critical governor and state legislative races. We need look no further than the recent Supreme Court decision in the Texas redistricting case upholding the bulk of Tom DeLay's redistricting plan, which shifted six Texas seats to Republicans, to explain why these investments are indispensable: We must insure Democratic majorities in statehouses across the country to prevent future efforts by Republicans to redraw lines in order to increase their Congressional representation. Not to mention the many state and local issues decided by state legislatures that have a direct impact on Americans' daily lives.

At the same time we invest in winning critical national, state and local races in 2006, we will not waver in our determination to rebuild the infrastructure of the party for the long term. Already our party-building investments have resulted in important early victories. Equally important, these early investments take us out of the old trap and old thinking that dictate that we wait until six weeks before election day to activate field operations. Our early investments in mobilization and organizing will insure that our state and local infrastructures are robust every year, all year long.

Finally, former Tennessee state party chair Randy Button is simply incorrect. The DNC has been and will continue to be supportive of efforts in Tennessee, just as the DNC will continue its work to unify the entire Democratic Party and insure that Democrats have the resources to present our alternative agenda to the American people.

Here at the DNC, we know we do not have the luxury of either/or choices, for our party or for our nation. We know we need plans and strategies for November and for the long haul—and we have them. Over the months ahead, we will be working hard with our state parties, the DSCC, DCCC, DLCC and DGA to excite and activate the electorate and see to it that Democrats are elected up and down the ballot all across America. And at the same time, we will continue the important party-building work Governor Dean promised when elected the party's chair. We know we cannot skimp on either of these efforts, and we do not intend to. TOM MCMAHON

Executive director
Democratic National Committee

TEAMSTERS ATTACK

Washington, DC

■ William Johnson has written a reckless, politically timed attack on Jim Hoffa's administration, coming as our Teamsters Union approached its convention at the end of June, the prelude to the membership's direct election of top officers this fall ["Teamsters: Changing to Win?" June 12]. The Teamsters are uniquely positioned as North America's strongest transportation union to organize and dominate the new global transportation models. Johnson ignores the fact that this is precisely the focus of Teamster organizing: our core industries in the transport sector, including freight integrators, airlines, ports and rail; and drivers in related industries such as school bus, airport shuttle, sanitation and laundry. For example, we have won campaigns at more than eighty-five locations of DHL delivery and sort operations—bringing nearly 3,000 new Teamsters into the union in this one campaign alone.

Our union is focusing on long-term strategic campaigns aimed at winning fair union recognition processes and neutrality agreements from employers. Today, any union that relies only on NLRB elections is doomed to fail. And anyone, like Johnson, who relies on NLRB statistics to determine organizing activity or success is either attempting to manipulate the numbers or

(Continued on Page 29)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRINTED JULY 12 VOLUME 283, NUMBER 4

IN THIS ISSUE

2 **LETTERS**

EDITORIALS & COMMENT

3 MEXICO'S TIGER STIRS

4 LAWLESS IN GAZA

5 LAWYERS CHALLENGE BUSH
Mickey Edwards

5 REVISED MILITARY HANDBOOK
Steve Brodner

6 THE "KENNEDY COURT"
David Cole

COLUMNS

6 DEADLINE POET
A Summary of Bush Statements...
Calvin Trillin

8 DIARY OF A MAD LAW PROFESSOR
The 600 Faces of Eve
Patricia J. Williams

10 THE LIBERAL MEDIA
The *Times* Is Us
Eric Alterman

ARTICLES

11 GREEN GOES GRASSROOTS
Mark Hertsgaard

18 RAGE AGAINST THE MSMACHINE
Lakshmi Chaudhry

20 BORN-AGAIN RUBINOMICS
William Greider

24 SWING-TIME IN NEW MEXICO
Marc Cooper

26 FROM IMPERIALISM TO EMPIRE
Michael Hardt

BOOKS & THE ARTS

31 MACKINNON: Are Women Human?
Martha Nussbaum

36 DIRKS: The Scandal of Empire
GILMOUR: The Ruling Caste
Linda Colley

38 SHORT TAKES
Christine Smallwood, Katherine Ryder

42 FILMS
Pirates of the Caribbean: Dead Man's Chest • Edmond • The Motel • Gabrielle • Time to Leave • The Blood of My Brother
Stuart Klawans

Cover by Gene Case and Stephen Kling/Avenging Angels; illustrations by Christoph Niemann and Peter O. Zierlein

EDITORIALS

Mexico's Tiger Stirs

Porfirio Díaz, Mexico's dictator from 1876 to 1910, always feared a popular revolution. "We must not awaken the tiger," Díaz famously declared. The revolution that erupted in 1910 cost more than a million lives. Mexican intellectuals have recently warned that the tiger is stirring once again in the wake of the country's contested July 2 presidential election, the initial results of which granted a razor-thin victory to Felipe Calderón of the conservative National Action Party (PAN).

Calderón's so-called victory is shrouded in suspicion. On July 3 the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) informed the world that with nearly all the votes counted in its preliminary result, Calderón was slightly ahead of Andrés Manuel López Obrador of the center-left Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD). AMLO, as López Obrador is known, immediately insisted that the autonomous IFE (much praised by US media for its supposed professionalism in administering the election) had neglected to count 3 million votes. The institute acknowledged the error and ordered that those ballots be tallied. Two days later IFE announced that Calderón had won by 240,000 votes. Mexico is now enduring its own version of the Florida election debacle of 2000, and it amounts to a constitutional and political crisis.

Was the process fair? AMLO insists that "irregularities" took place at 50,000 polling stations (of 130,000). The newspaper *La Jornada* featured on its cover a crumpled ballot rescued from a garbage bin in a working-class AMLO stronghold in Mexico City. On July 9 the PRD officially requested a complete recount at disputed polling stations, and it has launched a two-pronged strategy to achieve it. On the legal front PRD lawyers have delivered hundreds of pages of documentation concerning electoral chicanery to a special electoral tribunal; that tribunal, which has demonstrated independence in the past, has the power to order a partial or full recount, and it must certify the winner by September 6. On the political front the left has unleashed its forces on the streets. On July 8 several hundred thousand AMLO supporters converged on Mexico City's central square for a raucous demonstration, and the PRD called another rally for July 16. Some US newspapers have implied that AMLO is a demagogue for sanctioning such tactics, but these critics fail to understand that he is under crushing pressure from his own rank and file. "If Andrés Manuel does not assume leadership," one PRD leader told the *Financial Times*, "there will be chaos. The people are very angry."

For the Mexican left, the echoes from the past are positively eerie. In 1988 Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas was ahead in the presidential voting when the computer system tracking the votes suddenly crashed on election night; when it was back up, the result was a slim victory for his opponent. That memory is fresh in the minds of many PRD voters, and the next six weeks will be a period of brutal political warfare as Calderón and his supporters endeavor to consolidate their disputed victory, which has already been acknowledged by world leaders, including George W. Bush. The PRD-PAN struggle will be a contest over symbols, imagery and information: Mexico has robust independent newspapers and magazines, but their circulation and influence are narrow compared with TV Azteca and Televisa, privately owned TV conglomerates that have been resolutely hostile to AMLO and the PRD in the past.

Some commentators suggest that AMLO should simply give up the fight. Many pundits gave the same advice to Al Gore in 2000 when he sought to claim his victory in Florida. But Mexico is a more polarized and combustible society than the United States. A recount of the disputed ballots is the surest way to strengthen Mexico's fledgling democratic institutions, and to forestall a potential political and social conflagration.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EDITORIALS

The Nation.

EDITOR & PUBLISHER: Katrina vanden Heuvel

PRESIDENT: Teresa Stack

MANAGING EDITOR: Karen Rothmyer
LITERARY EDITOR: Adam Shatz
EXECUTIVE EDITOR: Betsy Reed
SENIOR EDITORS: Richard Lingeman, Roane Carey
WEB EDITOR: Joan Connell
COPY EDITOR: Judith Long
ASSISTANT COPY EDITOR: Mark Sorkin
COPY ASSOCIATE: Lisa Vandepaer
ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR: Peggy Suttle
ASSISTANT LITERARY EDITOR: Christine Smallwood
INTERNS: Laila Al-Arian, Stan Alcorn, Emily Amick, Jonathan Blitzer, Paloma Esquivel, E. Alex Jung, Alberto Morales, Sam Schramski (*Washington*), Ali Winston

WASHINGTON, DC: EDITOR: David Corn; CORRESPONDENT: John Nichols

NATIONAL AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT: William Greider

COLUMNISTS: Eric Alterman, Alexander Cockburn, Naomi Klein (*on leave*), Katha Pollitt (*on leave*), Patricia J. Williams, Gary Younge

DEPARTMENTS: *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art*, Arthur C. Danto; *Corporations*, Robert Sherrill; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Environment*, Mark Hertsgaard; *Films*, Stuart Klawans; *Legal Affairs*, David Cole; *Peace and Disarmament*, Jonathan Schell; *Poetry*, Grace Schulman; *United Nations*, Ian Williams; *Deadline Poet*, Calvin Trillin

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Kai Bird, George Black, Robert L. Borosage, Stephen F. Cohen, Marc Cooper, Mike Davis, Slavenka Drakulić, Robert Dreyfuss, Susan Faludi, Liza Featherstone, Thomas Ferguson, Doug Henwood, Max Holland, Molly Ivins, John Leonard, Michael Moore, Richard Pollak, Joel Rogers, Kirkpatrick Sale, Robert Scheer, Herman Schwartz, Ted Solotaroff, Edward Sorel, Gore Vidal, Jon Wiener, Amy Wilentz, Art Winslow

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS: Ari Berman (*Washington*), Bob Moser, Eyal Press, Scott Sherman

BUREAUS: *London*, Maria Margaronis and D.D. Guttenplan; *Southern Africa*, Mark Gevisser

EDITORIAL BOARD: Deepak Bhargava, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Eric Foner, Philip Green, Lani Guinier, Tom Hayden, Randall Kennedy, Tony Kushner, Elinor Langer, Deborah W. Meier, Toni Morrison, Victor Navasky, Richard Parker, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, David Weir, Roger Wilkins

ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, SPECIAL PROJECTS/WEBSITE: Peter Rothberg
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, DEVELOPMENT/ASSOCIATES: Peggy Randall
VICE PRESIDENT, ADVERTISING: Ellen Bollinger
ADVERTISING MANAGER, SMALL DISPLAY, EVENTS, CLASSIFIED: Leigh Novog
VICE PRESIDENT, CIRCULATION: Arthur Stupar
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Michelle O'Keefe
CIRCULATION FULFILLMENT MANAGER: Miriam Camp
PRODUCTION DIRECTOR: Omar Rubio
TYPOGRAPHER/WEB PRODUCER: Sandy McCroskey
PRODUCTION MANAGER: Timothy Don
NATION ASSOCIATES MANAGER: Peter Fifield
PUBLICITY/SYNDICATION DIRECTOR: Mike Webb
EDUCATION/COMMUNICATIONS COORDINATOR: Habiba Alcindor
VICE PRESIDENT, WEB SITE AND TECHNOLOGY: Scott Klein
TECHNOLOGY COORDINATOR: Amiri K. Barksdale
CONTROLLER: Mary van Valkenburg
ASSISTANT TO VICTOR NAVASKY: Mary Taylor Schilling
DATA ENTRY/MAIL COORDINATOR: John Holtz
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT: Kathleen Thomas
BUSINESS ASSISTANT: Joliange Wright
RECEPTIONIST/BUSINESS ASSISTANT: Larri Washington

PUBLISHER EMERITUS: Victor Navasky

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: E-mail to letters@thenation.com (300-word limit). Letters are subject to editing for reasons of space and clarity.
SUBMISSIONS: Queries only, no manuscripts. Go to www.thenation.com and click on "about," then "submissions" for a query form. Queries may be mailed to The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. SASE for poems.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the second week in January, and biweekly the third week of July through the second week of September) by The Nation Company, L.P. © 2006 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, L.P., 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. (212) 209-5400. Washington Bureau: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149, or call 1-800-333-8536. Publications Mail Agreement No: 40041477. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to Circulation Dept. or DPGM, 4960-2 Walker Road, Windsor, ON N9A 6J3. **When ordering a subscription, please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $4 prepaid ($6 foreign) from: The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Member, Audit Bureau of Circulations. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149. Printed in U.S.A. on recycled paper.

www.thenation.com

Lawless in Gaza

Less than a year after its disengagement from Gaza, Israel has become deeply re-engaged, in a sharp escalation of fighting that could ignite a third intifada. The proximate cause was a Palestinian guerrilla attack against an Israeli army base, in which two soldiers were killed and one was taken prisoner. In response Israel launched a furious assault on the entire population of Gaza, destroying its only energy plant, which left 700,000 people without power, and seizing more than two dozen Hamas elected officials. Israel's leading liberal daily, *Ha'aretz*, warned that "the government is losing its reason...arresting people to use as bargaining chips is the act of a gang, not of a state." Amnesty International condemned the attacks against civilian infrastructure as a war crime, and the UN's Relief and Works Agency warned that Gaza is "on the brink of a public health disaster."

In an exercise of selective memory, Under Secretary of State Nicholas Burns defended Israel, saying, "Let's remember who started this. It was the outrageous actions of Hamas in violating Israel's sovereignty, in taking the soldier hostage." In fact, the current cycle of violence was set off by weeks of Israeli shellings that culminated in the killing of eight Palestinian civilians on a Gaza beach. On a deeper level, the violence arises from the Israeli strategy of unilateralism, in which even the pretense of negotiations is abandoned and Israel alone decides its final borders, while maintaining control over the territories through closures, military assaults and assassination. After Hamas came to power in January in the Arab world's most democratic elections, Israel and the United States tried to provoke the government's collapse by cutting off aid and tax revenues, even though Hamas maintained its yearlong cease-fire and its officials repeatedly declared it could accept a two-state solution or at least a long-term truce. Far from leading to Hamas's demise, the economic strangulation infuriated Palestinians, convincing many that the United States and Israel care nothing about democracy. After the beach killings, popular outrage finally led Hamas's military wing to call off its cease-fire.

The latest Gaza clashes (followed by Hezbollah's capture of two Israeli soldiers along Israel's border with Lebanon and Israel's first invasion of southern Lebanon in six years) highlight the bankruptcy of unilateralism and military solutions. There will be no end to the violence until Israel agrees to negotiate with the democratically elected Palestinian leadership. A short-term solution to the current crisis could involve a mutual cease-fire and prisoner exchange, with an Israeli pledge to halt assassinations, military incursions and economic closures, matched by a Palestinian commitment to end rocket attacks on Israel. In the long term, Israel must abandon its obsession with territorial annexation and the "separation wall" and agree to negotiate along the lines already accepted long ago by the Palestinians and the world community: a two-state solution based on the 1967 borders, an end to all settlements, a fair division of Jerusalem and a just resolution to the refugee issue. Arab League nations have offered diplomatic relations with Israel if it accepts these conditions. If Israel doesn't, the bloodshed in Gaza will spread, and yet another generation of Israelis and Palestinians will suffer the consequences.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

Lawyers Challenge Bush

For millions of Americans, liberal and conservative, the battles over Bush Administration policies, from the war in Iraq to the shape of the federal tax code, revolve around questions of political ideology or partisan preferences. For many others, the central issue is not the Administration's policies but its competence. For the American Bar Association, and for some other organizations as well, including the Washington-based Constitution Project, the matter is much simpler: It's a question of legality.

It was this concern—whether or not the President of the United States was involved in a systematic attempt to evade the law—that prompted both the ABA and the Constitution Project to appoint special bipartisan task forces (I'm a member of both) to look into the extraordinary ways in which the President has turned to the use of presidential signing statements not only to signal his disagreement with Congressional actions but to make clear his intent to disregard them.

Signing statements are not new; in recent history Presidents Reagan, George H.W. Bush and Clinton also used them. Laws often end up in court, where federal judges may examine their constitutionality or attempt to resolve ambiguities as to intent. Historically, courts have looked to legislative language and Congressional debate to unravel such uncertainties; by issuing their own statements of concern or interpretation while signing a bill into law, Presidents attempt to inject their views into the judicial decision-making process. As President Clinton once argued, Presidents are not irrelevant, and it is not surprising that they would want to have their perspectives considered.

But there are at least two causes for concern about the way George W. Bush has used this presidential tool. One is the unprecedented frequency with which he has issued such statements; in less than six years he has issued more signing statements (over 750 by some estimates) than all other Presidents in history combined. This is a President who routinely challenges the decisions even of a Congress dominated by his own party.

But more worrisome is the way he uses such statements. Observers have noted with some surprise that a President who often seems preternaturally combative has nonetheless acquiesced routinely to a Congress with which he often clearly disagrees. This perception of a strangely compliant President was fed by the seemingly inexplicable fact that Bush had not issued a single veto in all the years of his presidency. It turns out that in this particular case, conspiracy theorists may have a point: The President had chosen not to veto legislation with which he disagreed—thus giving Congress a chance to override his veto—but simply to assert his right to ignore the law, whether a domestic issue or a prohibition against torturing prisoners of war. Coupled with his insistence on a "unitary executive"—the idea that Congress cannot, by law, tell an executive branch agency what it may or may not do—Bush's signing statements amount to more than an expression of opinion designed to influence the courts; they are a de facto instruction to federal agencies to disregard Congressional mandate.

Although the ABA task force in particular has a very limited mandate—to propose a policy position solely in regard to the use of signing statements—the issue arises against a disturbing backdrop that includes not only the gathering of telephone records but the deliberate disregard of a law prohibiting electronic surveillance of US citizens without a court-ordered warrant. Thus the real issue at stake is not one of presidential policy but of the continued viability of the separation of powers, the central tenet in America's system of constrained government. The Founders deliberately placed lawmaking power in the hands of Congress precisely because it, and especially the House of Representatives, was the most democratic branch of government—most representative of and most answerable to the American people. The concentration of power in the hands of a single chief executive, whether President or King, is an outcome neither the left nor the right should welcome. But with a President who assumes that all important decisions are his to make, and a Congress whose members routinely act as though they are part of the White House staff, that may well be where we are headed. No wonder the ABA, the Constitution Project and an increasing number of constitutional scholars are so concerned.

MICKEY EDWARDS

Mickey Edwards, a former Congressman, was a member of the House Republican leadership, national chair of the American Conservative Union and a founding trustee of the Heritage Foundation. He teaches at Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs and is a director of the Constitution Project.

Revised MILITARY
HANDBOOK
DO NOT ENTER IRAQI HOMES and RAPE WOMEN.
DO NOT KILL the WOMEN.
THIS APPLIES to CHILDREN and Babies..
..AND ALL UNARMED CIVILIANS.
DO NOT BURN their BODIES.
TOTALLY GET THAT THIS IS BAD.

STEVE BRODNER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

The 'Kennedy Court'

The Supreme Court's 2005-06 term—the first to feature the newly confirmed Chief Justice, John Roberts Jr., and Justice Samuel Alito—began with a whimper and ended with a bang. The term's early months saw the Court issuing an unusually high number of unanimous opinions, even in such potentially controversial areas as abortion and gay rights, as the Court sought to decide cases extremely narrowly and thereby avoid controversy. But by the end of the term, controversy was front and center, as the Court divided sharply on its most significant cases, culminating in the stunning 5-to-3 decision, the last day of the term, declaring George W. Bush's military tribunals illegal.

In *Hamdan v. Rumsfeld*, the most important case of the term, the Court showed itself willing to do what neither Republicans nor Democrats in Congress have been able to do: Stand up to the President in the "war on terror." The Court's decision reaffirmed, as Justice John Paul Stevens put it, that "the Executive is bound to comply with the Rule of Law that prevails in this jurisdiction." The Court's capitalization of the "Rule of Law" underscored its effort to enforce the concept of legality on an Administration that has long since adopted the view that the law can impose little or no constraint on the President during wartime—whether it be the international laws of war, criminal prohibitions on torture and warrantless wiretapping of Americans, or the Uniform Code of Military Justice, a statute that establishes the rules for military trials.

But as much as *Hamdan* deserved celebration for rejecting the President's vision of unchecked power in the post-9/11 world, the term also showed just how close the country is to a system of government that has no meaningful checks and balances. Bush's two new appointees generally proved themselves reliable conservatives—if not exactly in the mold of Justices Scalia and Thomas, which Bush said he was striving for, at least very close. Justices Roberts, Alito, Scalia and Thomas proved a reliable four votes for conservative results, while Justices Stevens, Souter, Ginsburg and Breyer continued to be a fairly reliable four votes for moderate to liberal outcomes. (Long gone are the days of Justices William Brennan and Thurgood Marshall.)

That leaves Justice Anthony Kennedy smack dab in the middle, with the ability to cast the decisive vote in many of the Court's most contentious disputes. Before the term began, it was an open question whether Kennedy would be persuaded to join the conservative bloc by the less acerbic and more politic conservative voices of Roberts and Alito, or whether he would maintain a swing-vote presence in the center, a position he shared with Justice Sandra Day O'Connor until her retirement. Thus far, he has remained in the middle. Justice Kennedy sometimes voted with the conservative bloc, including in a case upholding a Kansas death penalty statute, but went his own way on such significant issues as the military tribunals, the reach of the Clean Water Act, the exclusionary rule, gerrymandering and the Voting Rights Act.

Kennedy's influence is perhaps best illustrated by the Court's review of the gerrymandered redistricting of Texas engineered by Tom DeLay. On the issue of whether the redistricting violated equal protection because it was too partisan, Kennedy joined the conservative bloc to rule that there was no constitutional violation. But on the separate question of whether one part of the redistricting contravened the Voting Rights Act by diluting Latino voting strength, Kennedy sided with the liberal bloc to find that a violation had occurred. As Kennedy went, so went the Court.

Where Kennedy sided with the conservatives, he often wrote separately to moderate the result. In *Hudson v. Michigan* the majority ruled that the prosecution can use evidence obtained illegally when police violate the constitutional requirement that they "knock and announce" before entering a home to execute a search warrant. In its decision the conservative bloc displayed open hostility toward the "exclusionary rule" generally, but Kennedy concurred to specify that he supported the rule in general but simply did not think it justified for knock-and-announce violations. Similarly, in *Rapanos v. United States* the conservative bloc voted to restrict radically the reach of the Clean Water Act over "wetlands," but Justice Kennedy effectively saved the act, writing separately to say that while he agreed that the lower court had used the wrong standard, the act extends to any land with a "significant nexus" to a navigable body of water, and courts should generally defer

(Continued on Page 30)

CALVIN TRILLIN

A Summary of Bush Administration Statements on Its Conduct of the 'War on Terror'

We are in charge of never-ending war.
For everything we do we have a reason,
Which you can't know. But know that we
know best.
So criticizing us amounts to treason.

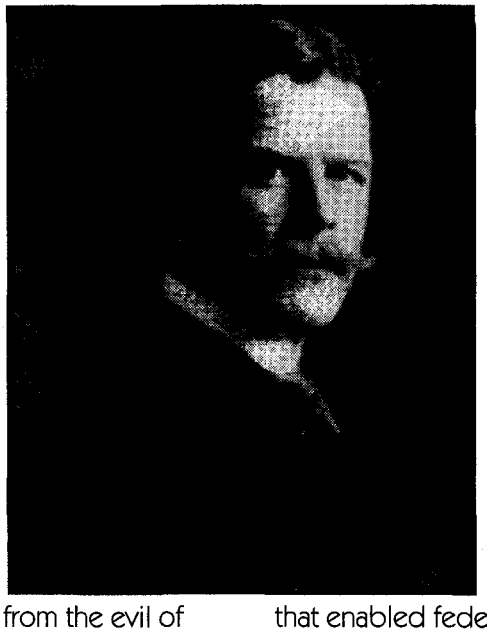
ON THE WEB: Jeremy Brecher and Brendan Smith explore how Lieut. Ehren Watada's pending court-martial could help restore the rule of law and energize a popular movement to end an illegal war. Simon Kuper reports from Berlin on how World Cup Soccer has finally shed its angst and machismo, attracting a global audience of fans who simply want to have fun (www.thenation.com).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Man Who Gave Us the Drug War

Dr. Hamilton Wright was famous for his discovery that beriberi is an infectious disease. It isn't. It's a vitamin deficiency but by the time his error was uncovered he had already married well. Very well in fact – to the daughter of Senator W.D. Washburn, head of the Republican Party.

When Dr. Wright moved to Washington his new father-in-law got him a job as a delegate to the Chinese Opium Commission of 1909. This conference, aimed at helping the Chinese with their opium problem, was billed as an American good will gesture. The actual intent was to pull the rug out from under the British and open China's vast markets to US merchants.



But Dr. Wright, who always suspected he was destined for greatness, took the assignment seriously and by the time he returned from China he had persuaded himself that opium addiction was a global scourge. His mission would be to save the world from the evil of narcotics.

He faced daunting odds. The other key players—England, France, the Netherlands did not share Wright's horror of opium. A British study had recently concluded that opium addiction was no worse than alcoholism and maybe not as bad. But Wright's moral certainty finally carried the day on Capitol Hill. Badgering superiors and threatening foreign ambassadors, Wright managed to get the State Department to convene two follow-on conferences at Hague in spite of resistance from almost every other nation involved.

In the end they all caved in and agreed to control cultivation, manufacture, and distribution of narcotics. Wright was able to achieve this stunning reversal through simple deception. At The Hague he said that the United States was demanding narcotics control, then back in Washington he squeezed Congress with fabricated demands from The Hague.

The U.S. legislation that Wright engineered finally made it through Congress in the winter of 1914 and at first glance the Harrison Narcotics Act appeared to be just a means of gathering information. It called on everybody in the drug trade to purchase a license and keep precise records. The bill passed in minutes. The New York Times didn't even mention it.

But Hamilton Wright had installed a land mine in the language, an extra clause that enabled federal agents to decree that all narcotics addicts should go cold turkey. Most addicts at the time were productive citizens with jobs, homes and a medical problem. Overnight they went from patients to criminals.

Today, as a direct result of using lawmen to supervise doctors we have 30 million Americans undertreated for chronic pain. And what did we get in return? After spending $1 trillion over the last 90 years the rate of narcotics addiction in the US has increased 500 percent.

Common Sense for Drug Policy
www.CommonSenseDrugPolicy.org www.DrugWarFacts.org
www.ManagingChronicPain.org www.MedicalMJ.org
www.TreatingDrugAddiction.org
info@csdp.org

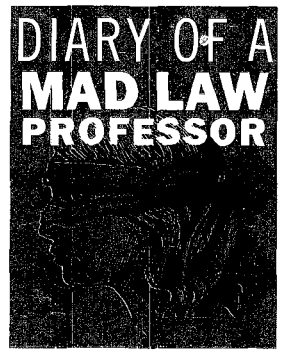
Text excerpted from Drug Crazy, Mike Gray, Random House 1998

Photo credit: from the book Drug War: Covert Money, Power & Policy by Dan Russell

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PATRICIA J. WILLIAMS

The 600 Faces of Eve



How I became a 100-year-old, motorcycle riding, white evangelical hip-hop member of a steel drum band begins with my consideration of why today's generation of young people are not a visible political presence when the entire civil rights movement is going quietly to its grave.

I have spent a lot of time hoping, waiting for a new wave of the civil rights movement to take hold, a movement embodying the civic energy of the 1960s as reinvigorated by the youth of today. I wonder why there is such apathy.

My students are, on the whole, less anxious about this than I am. They tell me that activism hasn't disappeared—it's just all happening in cyberspace. The Internet is their commons. I am glad to hear it, and when I think about MoveOn.org, it seems reasonable that there might be real movement by real bodies. At the same time, as anyone in academia knows, those of college age and below are online all the time. Even in class, the laptops are burning up—they're taking notes ostensibly, checking cites and sources not sites and solitaire, the busy little bees. Yet however genuinely engaged in their classes they may be, it is also true that often we teachers can't see their lips moving anymore, just the tips of their noses over the raised tops of their laptop screens. They speak, they interact, but always a part of their heads, a slab of their faces, an ear or an eye, is sucked into those powerful machines. You can see them receding—heads, necks, arms, torsos disappearing into the fog. Sometimes I just want to pull them out by their feet and manacle them to their chairs.

Recently, I joined Facebook and MySpace, two of the more popular networking sites, to see if I could incorporate some of it into a lecture, nudge them back to what I think of as the real world, from the inside out. For all the much-discussed—and valid—questions of sexual predation, what was most striking to me about the social climate of these sites are the invisible hands that seem to be guiding what goes on. It's often said of MySpace, for example, that the participants "choose" to foreground their interests so as to be connected to other like-minded souls. But you don't just choose by wandering and grazing—you proceed by filling out themed questionnaires and following links and pursuing guided suggestions. If you choose a Paris Hilton–themed path, you might be asked how often you go shopping. If you choose hip-hop, you're asked to "fess up to the acts of a true thug." The jokey, formulaic questions demand to know if you've ever smoked or used drugs or committed a crime, or what, by the way, your sexual orientation is. They ask how you see yourself dying and on what date, how many guns you own, how many orgasms you have in a day and how much money you make. Who would you be if you were a famous dictator? Do you like Hello Kitty? What would you name your own personal police force? The sites analyze and organize your personality as though rendering a horoscope, based not on the stars but on what your dream car would be.

It doesn't seem unreasonable to question Rupert Murdoch's ownership of MySpace more closely, given its structured invitations for people to sort themselves into cascading ranks of adolescent sexism and sexiness, foul gangsta language and multiple temptations to transgression. If I were a data miner, I'd be in there every day, grazing and hunting and gathering, sorting and profiling and pre-empting for a rainy day.

To say that these sites are not private understates the problem. "Going public" implies a group so massive that some anonymity is guaranteed; you can lose yourself in a crowd in real space. But cyberspace is like entering an obsessively unforgiving world with no capacity to forget. Even if the human administrators mean you well, the machines are inherently promiscuous and literal-minded. If you are a white Episcopalian from the suburbs of Connecticut who wears polo shirts and plaid boating shorts, you may find yourself cruelly redirected along life's cyber-path if you disguise yourself as a Confederate flag–loving Wiccan headed for Chocolate City in your Escalade with the gun rack and spinning hubcaps. (Try it out! You could be both these people and more!)

This is lots of fun, assuming there are no consequences. If there are overseers with stern standards and no sense of humor—well then, that could make a difference. Small droppings of letters and slurrings of words could have life-changing consequences—my spell-checker recently changed "Jerry Falwell" to "Jerry Falafel." At present, such errors are as frequent as dust bunnies—particularly for those with common last names—yet determine whether you get to vote, whether your welfare check is cut off or your insurance processed, or whether you spend years in the stalls of Guantánamo Bay. We need some process—due process—enabling us to distinguish ourselves in this Kafkaesque landscape.

In the meantime, a generation raised on the Net is becoming adept at proliferating many different identities for one life. The medium invites all of us to generate multiple brands of ourselves. It makes me wonder, this evolution into a high-tech future: In a world given over to purchase, cover and disguise, might the pursuit of ideas not be nearly as important as a talent for manipulating appearances according to the urgencies of escape or the conveniences of entering new markets?

A friend whose grandfather fled pogroms and fascism spoke of what it took to live in those times: "They had to speak six languages," he said. My students will survive by having 600 e-identities. They will have more colors than a chameleon, changing race and gender, upgrading religion, downsizing dreams, outsourcing home as a page. They live in a land so unimaginable to me as to earn the label "foreign"—even as I tootle around it on my newly imagined motorbike.

"You have 733 new friends," blinks the screen of my computer, gleefully, gaily, as though I really, really do have 733 friends. The thrumming steel drums of my newfound identity notwithstanding, I feel lonely. This is not about substantive engagement, but numbers. It's ruled by assortive principles and the misplaced faith that an actuarial table is any kind of community—beloved, political or "other" wise. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Released to the Public: Bags of Vintage Buffalo Nickels

The First Federal Coin Corp. is releasing to the public bags of original U.S. government Buffalo Nickels not seen in circulation for decades. Now they can be acquired for a limited time only — not as individual collector coins, but by troy weight — **just $45.95 for a full Troy Quarter-Pound Bag.**

100% Valuable Collector Coins — GUARANTEED!

Every bag will be filled with collectible vintage Buffalos from over 65 years ago, GUARANTEED:

- **1920-1929 — *"Roaring '20s" Buffalo***
- **1930-1938**
- **Mint Marks (P,D, or S)**
- **ALL Collector Grade Very Good Condition**
- **FREE Magnifying Glass**
- **FREE New 2005 Buffalo Nickel**

Every vintage Buffalo Nickel you receive will be a coveted collector coin — GUARANTEED! Plus, order a half troy-pound or more and receive a P & D Mintmark set of the new 2005 U.S. Buffalo Nickels. Order a gigantic full troy-pound Bag and you'll also receive a vintage Liberty Head Nickel (1883-1912), a valuable collector classic!

Long-Vanished Buffalos Highly Coveted by Collectors

The government officially melted millions of these vintage Buffalo Nickels, leaving behind only those saved in private hoards and estate collections. These coins are becoming more sought-after each day. In fact, the market price for Buffalo Nickels has risen 186% in the last five years alone! The design is so popular that the U.S. now has released a brand new coin featuring the magnificent American Buffalo, a symbol of of our nation's heritage. You'll get a complete set of these new coins FREE with each half troy-pound bag you order. Call today!

Supplies Limited — Order Now!

Supplies of vintage Buffalo Nickels are limited as the availability continues to shrink. They are sure to make a precious gift for your children, family and friends that will be appreciated for a lifetime.

NOTICE: Due to recent changes in the prices for vintage U.S. coins, this advertised price may change without notice. Call today to avoid disappointment.

30-Day Money-Back Guarantee

You must be 100% satisfied with your bag of Buffalo Nickels or return it via insured mail within 30 days of receipt for a prompt refund.

Yours FREE with Full Pound Order!

Order More and SAVE

QUARTER TROY POUND Buffalo Nickels
Plus **FREE** New 2005 Buffalo Nickel
Plus **FREE** Magnifying Glass
$45.95 + S&H

HALF TROY POUND Bag
Plus **FREE** P&D set New 2005 Buffalo Nickels
Plus **FREE** Magnifying Glass
$79 + S&H — **SAVE $12.90**

ONE FULL TROY POUND Bag
Plus **FREE** 1883-1912 Liberty Head Nickel
Plus **FREE** P&D set New 2005 Buffalo Nickels
Plus **FREE** Magnifying Glass
$149 + S&H — **SAVE $34.80**

TOLL-FREE 24 HOURS A DAY

1-800-895-7267

Promotional Code BUF113-02

Please mention Promotional Code when you call.

We can also accept your check by phone.
To order by mail call for details.

FIRST FEDERAL COIN CORP

14101 Southcross Drive W., Dept. BUF113-02
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337

Note: First Federal Coin Corp. is a private distributor of government and private coin and medallic issues and is not affiliated with the United States Government. Past performance is not an indicator of future performance.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ERIC ALTERMAN

The *Times* Is Us

Mainstream media coverage conveys the impression that the Administration's attacks on the *New York Times* were motivated by the paper's 3,550-word story detailing US attempts to track terrorist financing methods, published despite an official request for self-censorship. In fact, they constitute another front in the Bush (& Co.) war on the press. And once again many members of the media have enlisted as apparatchiks in undermining their own putative profession, preferring ideology to independence and access to accountability.

Remember: The Administration has been bragging about its post-9/11 money-tracking efforts for years. The UN Al Qaeda and Taliban Monitoring Group discussed it in its December 2002 report to the Security Council, and former State Department official Victor Comras explained that "the information was fairly well known by terrorism financing experts back in 2002." "Quite frankly, I don't think the terrorists were tipped off to anything," said Ron Paul, like Bush a Texas Republican.

The reason that publishing the new details in the *Times* piece may have been a more difficult call than, say, the *Times* story on the Bush illegal domestic spying program—which it held for more than a year—is that unlike almost everything the Bush Administration does, instead of being arrogant and incompetent it's actually a good idea. Arguing for publication, however, would be the charge of honest journalism not to mention the program's potential for abuse, the Administration's lack of respect for constitutional niceties in its implementation and its demonstrated proclivity to lie to the public about virtually everything.

None of these nuances play much of a role in our benighted public discourse. Cheney called the decision to publish "offensive." Bush called it "disgraceful." Rumsfeld claimed the article would "cause the loss of American lives," and the crowing for editor Bill Keller's head has been nonstop as the right-wing echo chamber has ratcheted up its typical "work the refs" attack-machine into a furious frenzy of phony froth. New York Republican Representative (and IRA supporter) Peter King called for the *Times* to be prosecuted for violating the 1917 Espionage Act. Two hundred and twenty House members—including every Republican but Christopher Shays—voted to condemn it.

They were quickly joined by a group of conservative journalists and pundits who apparently prefer a Soviet-style political discourse to the kind envisioned by America's Founders. *National Review* editor Rich Lowry called upon the government to jail the reporters involved if they refused to reveal their sources, and the *Review* demanded that the White House revoke the *Times*'s press credentials. Heather MacDonald, writing in *The Weekly Standard*, called the *Times* "a national security threat...drunk on its own power and...antagonistic to the Bush administration." Talk-show host Melanie Morgan said she'd have "no problem" if Keller were "sent to the gas chamber" for treason. And the always reliable David Horowitz insisted that the *Times* was purposely inviting assassination attempts against Cheney and Rumsfeld in its—I kid you not—travel section. (Even Rumsfeld was apparently in on it, however, having approved the photographs of his home for the offending article. These conspiracies can get real complicated...)

The most interesting recruits in the Bush team's journalistic jihad, however, were the editors of the *Wall Street Journal*. Their intervention proved particularly illuminating of the distinctions between honest journalism and fellow-traveling. "Would the *Journal* have published the story had we discovered it as the *Times* did, and had the administration asked us not to?" they asked. "Speaking for the editorial columns, our answer is probably not." Trouble is, the *Journal*'s news editors did decide to publish the story mere hours after the *Times* story appeared. Its editorial page editors shamefully sought to explain away this inconvenience with the damning "guess" that the Administration "felt [*Journal* reporter Glenn] Simpson would write a straighter story than the *Times*." As if falsely insisting their own reporter was in the Bush tank wasn't bad enough, the editors went on to declare that the *Times* "has as a major goal not winning the war on terror but obstructing it." It's official: According to the judgment of the Dow Jones Corporation, when a newspaper acts methodically and responsibly to publish information of vital national importance that the government would prefer to suppress, it is on the side of terrorism. It's a shame Joe McCarthy isn't alive to enjoy all this.

Of course, it's hardly a coincidence that this orgy of *Times*-bashing is occurring just as Rove & Co. are ginning up the GOP base with stunts like the flag amendment, amendments against gay marriage and a wave of immigrant-bashing, now coming to a hearing near you. As Massachusetts Representative Jim McGovern explained during the silly House vote to condemn the paper, "We are here today because there has not been enough red meat thrown at the Republican base before the Fourth of July recess." The meat is not merely unkosher; it's poisonous.

Why has the right's rage focused on the *Times*, when it was one of three papers to run the story? As the *San Francisco Chronicle*'s Jon Carrol points out, the *New York Times* "contains the word 'New York.' Many members of the president's base consider 'New York' to be a nifty code word for 'Jewish.'" This isn't the first time the Rovian right has toyed with Jew-hatred. Remember the attacks on George Soros two years ago, with pundits like Tony Blankley using terms like "robber baron," "pirate capitalist" and "self-admitted atheist"?

The point is not that Bush, Cheney, Rove or even Blankley is an anti-Semite. It's that they will stop at nothing to discredit their perceived enemies. War may be politics by other means, but for the White House and its allies, politics is war and accountability is the enemy. As Dick Cheney explains in Ron Suskind's explosive new book, *The One Percent Doctrine*, "It's not about our analysis, or finding a preponderance of evidence. It's about our response."

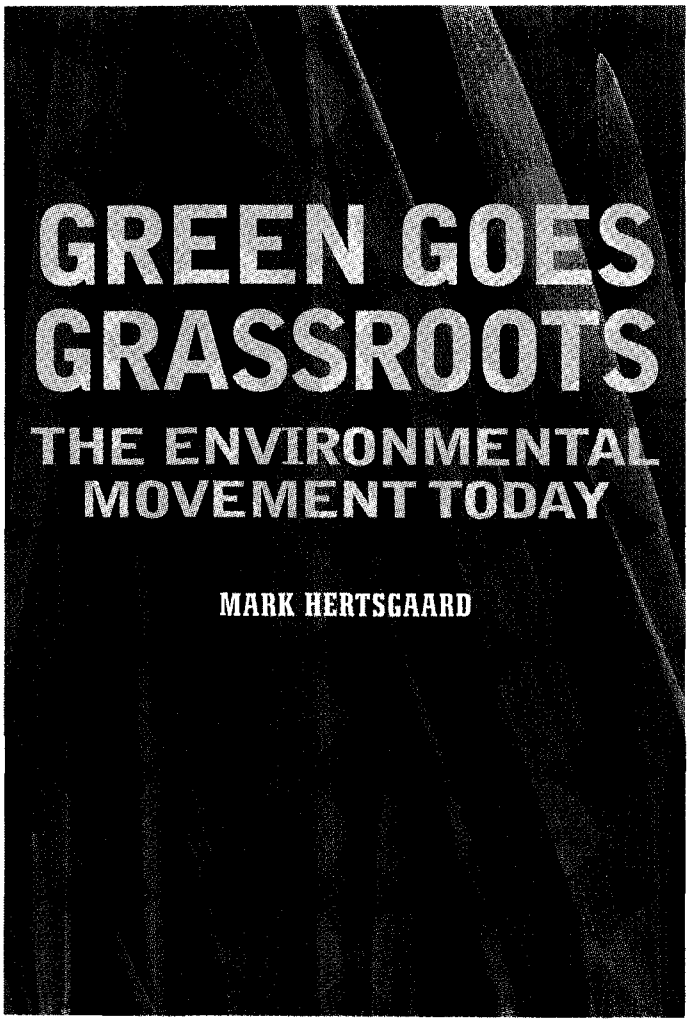
In wartime one loses the luxury of choosing one's allies; Judith Miller and Jayson Blair notwithstanding, now the *Times* is us. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES

The most interesting environmental leader in the United States right now is a former petrochemical worker from Louisiana's "Cancer Alley" named Jerome Ringo. As chairman of the board of the National Wildlife Federation, Ringo heads what is by far the nation's largest environmental organization, with 4 million members, not to mention one of its richest, with an $80 million budget. It's unusual enough that a former union and community organizer would rise to the top of the NWF; traditionally, the group has belonged to the polite, apolitical wing of the movement—more inclined to publish nature magazines for kids than to challenge corporate power à la Greenpeace or Rainforest Action Network. But what really sets Ringo apart, both at NWF and throughout the mainstream movement's leadership, is that he is black.

"I am the first African-American in history to head a major conservation group," he says. Environmentalism in the United States has been dominated by well-to-do white men since the late nineteenth century, when John Muir, Gifford Pinchot and Teddy Roosevelt first put the notion of preserving natural resources on the national agenda with their campaigns to establish publicly owned parks and wilderness areas. Alluding to this history, Ringo says the whiteness of today's movement isn't because of racism. It's simply that most environmental groups "were founded by people who fished to put fish on the wall, not by people who fished to put fish on the table. And for poor people, issues like ozone depletion have not been a priority, compared with next month's rent. But I tell people in Cancer Alley, What good is next month's rent if you're dying from cancer?"



Now Ringo wants to bring these varying constituencies together across class and racial lines to build a broader and more powerful green movement. His chosen vehicle, besides the NWF, is the Apollo Alliance, a coalition of labor unions, environmental groups, business leaders and elected officials that advocates a massive green jobs and development program for the United States. Apollo proposes investing $300 billion of public funds in green energy technologies over the next ten years. This investment would create 3 million new jobs and countless business opportunities, Apollo claims, while also fighting climate change and cutting US dependence on foreign oil. The benefits to poor and working-class Americans of such an economic stimulus program are clear, but the idea is also business-friendly enough to have attracted support from prominent Democratic moderates and other centrists, including the group Republicans for Environmental Protection. "I had a phone call with the chief of staff of [New Mexico] Governor Bill Richardson just this morning," says Ringo, who assumed Apollo's presidency last September. "Several months ago I joined Hillary Clinton and [Pennsylvania] Governor Ed Rendell when the Democrats released their Energy Independence 2020 Plan, and one of the first items was an Apollo project. Apollo began five years ago as a vision. My goal is to turn it into action."

It's still too early to say, but if Jerome Ringo and the Apollo Alliance are representative of larger trends, green politics may at last be finding its voice again in the United States. In the past, most environmentalists did not bother to articulate much of an economic message. Perhaps because they tended to be economically comfortable themselves, they overlooked the fact that many Americans live paycheck to paycheck and thus need to hear that green policies can mean not only cleaner air but also more and better jobs. Indeed, environmentalists often failed to reach out to other constituencies at all; they stayed inside their own issue silo and assumed that having facts on their side was enough.

"Our movement has been apolitical," says Brent Blackwelder, president of Friends of the Earth. "The idea was that politics is dirty and you don't want to get your hands dirty." Except for the Sierra Club and the League of Conservation Voters, environmentalists shunned electoral politics in particular. Green groups did not even turn out their own members to vote, much less boost turnout among ordinary citizens. When the outrages of the Bush Administration finally led some groups to consider taking a more active role in the 2004 elections, internal polling found that the 10 million members of national environmental groups voted at the same low turnout rates as the general population. "Some groups' members didn't even know there was much difference between Bush and Kerry on the environment," adds Blackwelder.

"No one feels the pain when they vote against the environment. They should," says Wendy Wendlandt, political director of the National Association of State Public Interest Research

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Groups. Noting that no politician, including Bush, wants to be seen as anti-environment, Wendlandt adds that the movement must "regain control over what it means to be environmentalist. We need to pick bright-line issues that define who is for you and who is against you and then hold elected officials accountable."

Bush's November 2004 victory jolted environmentalists, as did the nearly simultaneous release of Michael Shellenberger and Ted Nordhaus's essay "The Death of Environmentalism." First reported in *The Nation* [see Hertsgaard, "A Challenge to Enviros," January 3, 2005], the essay argued that the movement was failing because it remained wedded to timid, technical-fix solutions that ignored potential allies and left ordinary people uninspired and confused. In the ensuing storm of argument, many greens responded that they had been saying as much for years. Others pointed out that Shellenberger and Nordhaus defined the movement very narrowly, ignoring thousands of state and local, environmental justice, anti-corporate and other grassroots organizations. The essay "reads more accurately and less offensively" if one realizes that when "the authors use the words 'environmental movement' they are actually talking about large budget" national organizations based in Washington, DC, wrote John Sellers of the Ruckus Society and Steve Kretzmann of Oil Change. Those groups were indeed "locked into a costly and near futile legislatively dominated strategy," they added, but small and medium-sized groups were still driving change through local organizing and protest. To support their case that change in Washington tends to come "only after a lot of noise has been made, and attitudes have changed in the field," Sellers and Kretzmann cited a study by Jon Agnone of the University of Washington, who analyzed Congressional passage of environmental laws in the United States from 1960 to 1998. Agnone concluded that shifts in public opinion did help get legislation passed, but only when accompanied by visible acts of grassroots protest.

'We need to pick...issues that define who is for you and who is against you and then hold elected officials accountable.' —*Wendy Wendlandt*

What no one disputes is that the movement's glory days of the 1960s and '70s seem long ago and far away. Back then, mass awareness and targeted activism propelled Washington politicians of both parties to enact a series of landmark laws—including the National Environmental Policy Act, the Clean Air Act and the Clean Water Act—that transformed America's ecosystems and were copied by nations around the world. Ronald Reagan began the environmental rollback in the 1980s, and the Clinton Administration regained little ground in the '90s. But it is George W. Bush's Administration, with its overt hostility to environmentalism, that best highlights an embarrassing paradox for the movement. Opinion polls indicate that more than 70 percent of the American people think we as a society should do "whatever it takes" to protect the environment. And no one can say the environmental movement lacks financial resources; the budgets of local and national groups amount to an estimated $1.7 billion a year. Nevertheless, Bush and his Congressional allies have pursued the most anti-environmental policies in the nation's history—and escaped without paying much of a political price. As popular and wealthy as the environmental movement appears, the Bush era has exposed it as something of a paper tiger.

Yet the Bush years may turn out to be the movement's salvation, for they have led even the national groups based in Washington to recognize that a new approach is needed. And political space has now opened around climate change in particular. Hurricane Katrina, combined with a relentless accumulation of scientific findings, has at last awakened both the public and elites in the United States to the gravity of the threat. How else to explain how Al Gore, a man the media mercilessly mocked as dull, pretentious and untrustworthy during his 2000 presidential campaign, is now being treated as one of the hottest politicians in America, thanks largely to his starring role in the climate change documentary *An Inconvenient Truth*.

There are successes to learn from. The federal government is a dead end at the moment, but state and local environmental organizations are scoring solid victories in red and blue states alike. Meanwhile, years of pressure have led a surprising number of big-name corporations, including such longstanding villains as General Electric and Wal-Mart, to make and sometimes honor promises to change their operating practices—thanks to a good cop, bad cop routine that offers them a choice between the in-your-face denunciations issued by groups like Global Exchange and Forest Ethics and the genteel green tutelage offered by the World Resources Institute and World Wildlife Fund. Environmental justice groups like West Harlem Environmental Action are developing real political clout while proving that affluent white people aren't the only ones who care about clean air and water. And there has been an explosion of student activism, particularly around global warming, which Billy Parish, coordinator of the Climate Action Coalition, calls "far and away the biggest issue on campuses now, and not only for environmental groups. There are now 200 campuses purchasing substantial amounts of clean energy."

The successes have a number of themes in common, beginning with a focus on economically attractive solutions rather than downbeat warnings of disaster. "As scary as things look nowadays, we have decided to spend half of our time building the new—showing how to solve these problems and have a better life in the bargain—rather than always playing defense," says Betsy Taylor, founder of the Center for a New American Dream. Another key has been reaching out to new and sometimes ideologically or culturally distant constituencies, and doing so in plain language that ordinary people can grasp (rather than the policy-wonk gibberish that environmentalists often utter). A third element has been an emphasis on sustained local organizing that grows the movement's base of support and seeks to build real political power—a departure from many groups' reliance on activist insiders skilled in lobbying,

Mark Hertsgaard, The Nation's environment correspondent, is the author of Earth Odyssey: Around the World in Search of Our Environmental Future *and* The Eagle's Shadow: Why America Fascinates and Infuriates the World. *He is a fellow of The Nation Institute.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

litigation and other tactics aimed at the status quo.

One hesitates to dust off the cliché, but together the strategies recall the 1960s slogan "Think globally, act locally." The stress on organizing begins to correct a mistake that progressive movements made in the wake of the high-profile victories of the 1960s, argues Van Jones, executive director of the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights. As grants from mainstream foundations began boosting budgets dramatically, says Jones, the civil rights movement became a civil rights bureaucracy, staffed with lobbyists and lawyers who increasingly tried to stand in for a demobilized black community. The same happened with other progressive movements, with the result, Jones adds, that over time "most of us spent more time writing grant applications and doing work that had nothing to do with building political power."

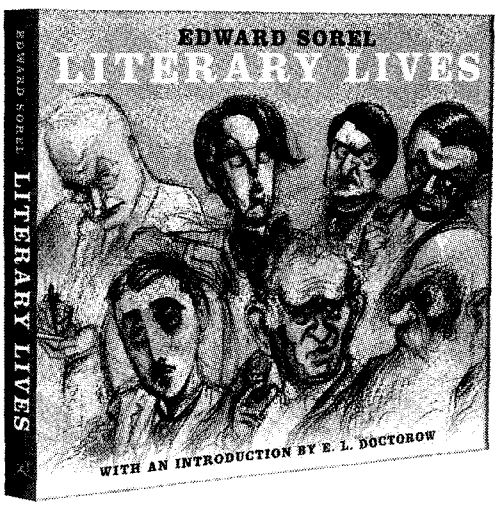
"The huge successes of the 1970s were built on decades of work, a lot of it done at the local level, around issues and concerns that then were taken national. We've been drawing down on these capital reserves ever since then without rebuilding them at the local level," says Buck Parker, executive director of Earthjustice and current chair of the Green Group, made up of leaders from thirty national environmental groups who convene regularly to discuss strategy and tactics.

It was self-deceptive for environmentalists to think they enjoyed support from 70 percent of the American public, argues Carl Pope, executive director of the Sierra Club. A keener analysis of polling data, says Pope, reveals that about 40 percent of the public are pro-environment but not pro-environmentalist. These 40 percent take green positions on policy questions (e.g., Do you support action on global warming?), but culturally "they see us as too extreme. They tend to be more rural and conservative but also include significant numbers of urban, nonwhite and less educated people. The right effectively split them off from us in the 1980s and '90s, and we did nothing to prevent this. We didn't build good relationships with churches, labor unions and African-American and Latino constituencies." Concludes Pope, "Our challenge is to reknit the environmental majority, because it's still there, it's just been artificially divided." The place to start is at the state level, where activists are passing "amazing legislation that we couldn't even talk about with the Democratic caucus on Capitol Hill. Idaho just enacted a two-year ban on coal-fired power plants. The Idaho governor, who is now Bush's new Interior Secretary, didn't want to do it, but the legislature rolled him. Maryland, with a Republican governor, has signed on to the Kyoto Protocol."

"In 2004 Kerry lost Colorado, but we won everything else here," says Elise Jones, executive director of the Colorado Environmental Coalition. Jones's group was a key member of a broader progressive coalition that, in a state with a majority of Republican voters, passed three progressive ballot initiatives, took back the state legislature and won the US Senate seat. "Seeing how the conservatives who orchestrated the Gingrich revolution [in 1994] went back to the grassroots made me realize that we needed to do the same thing," says Jones.

The key in Colorado was to "appeal to people across the political spectrum" by addressing their concerns as much as environmentalists' own. To pass the renewable energy initiative, progressives won over economically strapped farmers in the east of

TRUTH IS STRANGER THAN FICTION.



"In his new book *Literary Lives*, Mr. Sorel takes on some of history's greatest writers, with drawings and words...I rolled on the floor laughing at Sorel's takes on Tolstoy, Proust, Jung, Brecht, Yeats, Sartre, Eliot, Norman Mailer as well as Lillian Hellman and Ayn Rand. You will never have such a prize again for only $14.95. A small masterpiece of invective, sardonic observation and cynical sum-up. Oh, yes, and the drawings are great. I loved this book!" —Liz Smith

"How often do you get to say that a book is both delightful and shocking? If W.B. Yeats, Jean-Paul Sartre, Lillian Hellman, and some of the other clay-footed heroes in this wonderful book were alive today they'd want to sue Edward Sorel. Of course, they'd lose: truth is the best defense, and comedy may be the second best." —Daniel Okrent, author of *Public Editor #1*

"Wonderfully funny tales of narcissism, self-promotion, deceit and—best of all—voracious sexual appetites...damn funny." —Ed Koren

BLOOMSBURY

WWW.BLOOMSBURYUSA.COM • AVAILABLE WHEREVER BOOKS ARE SOLD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Colorado, who have traditionally voted Republican, by stressing how wind farms could help them pay their bills. Even the Farm Bureau, usually environmentalists' enemy, ended up backing the initiative, as did the Republican Speaker of the House.

A similar green upsurge has taken place in Michigan. "For fifteen years we counted it as a success if we could just protect the status quo," says Lana Pollack, president of the Michigan Environmental Council. "Now we actually move the ball down the field. And we have a Republican House and Senate and a Democratic governor, so we have to move things through both parties." Much of the change comes from implementing what Pollack concedes are Politics 101 tactics. "You have to work at the ground level. We turn out thousands of letters to get constituents informed and revved up. We don't put out dense reports but shorter, more newsworthy releases. We stopped looking at everyone outside the environmental world as the hostile, unwashed masses and saw them as distinct interests that on occasion might align with ours, including nurses groups, business groups and the Michigan Association of Realtors."

Leaders of national groups say they too are returning to the grassroots, mainly by collaborating more with state and local organizations. "It was critical to be in Washington the last few years to resist the [Bush] rollback, which we've done," says Frances Beinecke, president of the Natural Resources Defense Council. But when the Administration proposed allowing inadequately treated sewage to drain into coastal runoff systems, Beinecke adds, NRDC "took the issue out of Washington to a state that would be severely affected by that proposal, Florida, and worked it there. We put local groups like the Florida Federation of Garden Clubs out front to raise awareness of the issue, and we got eighteen out of twenty-five members of the Florida Congressional delegation to come out against it, including very conservative members like Katherine Harris."

The successes in Michigan and Colorado might not have happened without deep-pocket local donors who supported such grassroots organizing, local activists say. But national activists complain that national funders, especially foundations, have resisted this approach in favor of quick-fix solutions. "Funders have very short time spans and want to see measurable results, and you can't build the kind of [movement we envision] in a short period of time," says Rebecca Wodder, president of American Rivers. Carl Pope says the Sierra Club is now "in partnership with the United Steelworkers, the biggest industrial union in America, to go into a number of states and try to create a class-blind environmental movement." But foundations have declined to fund the initiative because it cannot promise specific policy outcomes within the next two years, says Pope, who adds, "I assure you, not a single important right-wing funder in this country thinks that way."

Some $2.8 billion is donated every year to progressive service and advocacy groups in the United States, according to Democracy Alliance, a group of nonfoundation donors and activists who are working to fortify the progressive infrastructure. Only $500 million of that money, about 18 percent, goes to groups that work locally. Within the environmental field, activist groups receive a total of $1.7 billion a year, of which only $187 million—barely 10 percent—goes to groups that work at the local level. (By far the largest portion of environmental funding goes to land trusts, which buy and protect land that is environmentally or aesthetically valuable.) "Those numbers show what is readily apparent when you look around Washington, DC," says John Passacantando, executive director of Greenpeace USA. "This is a top-heavy movement. You need lobbyists and experts, sure, but not as many as we have. Look at the National Rifle Association. They know that power is built in the field, so they focus on individual Congressional districts.... The difficulty is, organizing is not sexy. It doesn't get you headlines in the *New York Times*. It is scruffy, dirt-under-the-fingernails power building."

"In-depth organizing is a hard sell to national foundations," says Bill Roberts, president of the Beldon Fund, which underwrote the organizing in Michigan. Roberts does not bring up the following example but does confirm it when asked: After some environmental groups finally began to collaborate with other progressive organizations during the 2004 election campaign, Roberts tried to convince other funders to help him keep the best parts of the infrastructure in place for future work. His appeal was rejected. "Some funders were persuaded," he recalls. "But many others wanted to know what specific activities would be developed and implemented in 2005 before committing funds."

Joshua Reichert, managing director of the policy initiatives and environment program at the Pew Charitable Trusts, counters that it is unreasonable to ask foundations to underwrite long-term organizing. Arguing that the current state of the movement is "reasonably strong," Reichert charges that green groups are themselves responsible for any lack of grassroots organizing:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Most of these groups get more of their money from memberships [in dues] than they do from foundations. Groups can pour that money back into organizing, if they choose to. Foundations put money in when they're interested in a specific program a group is doing."

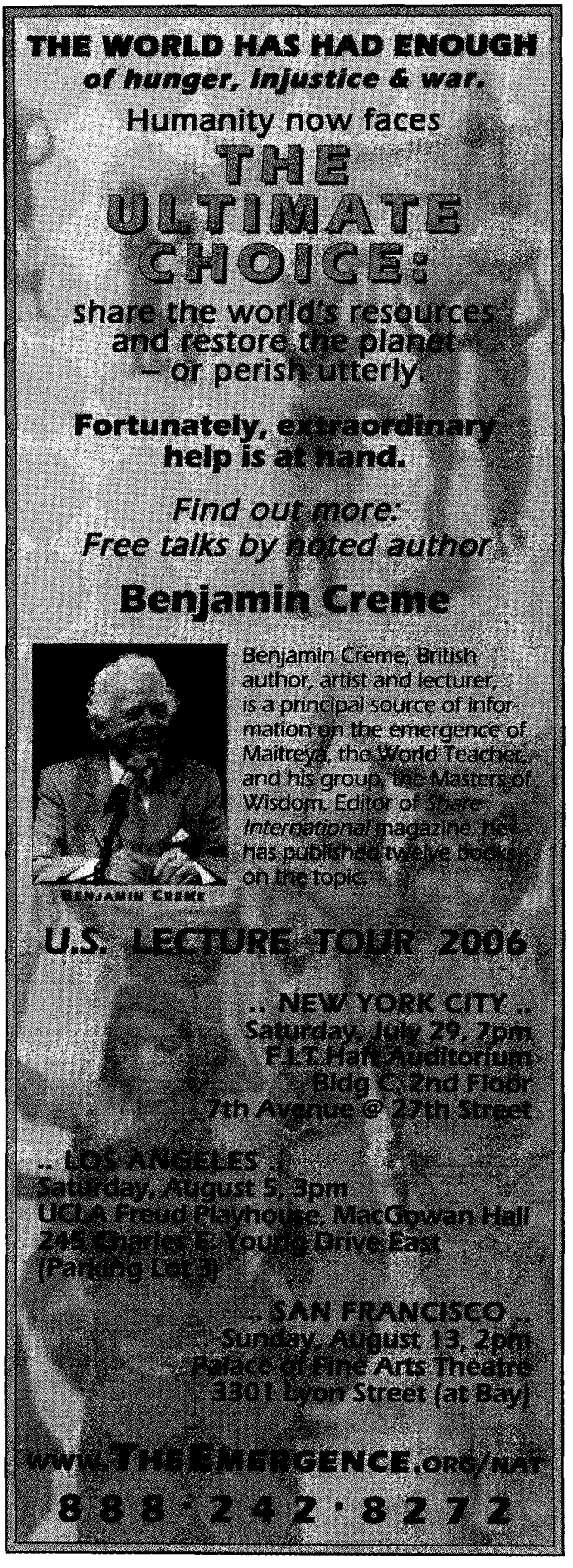
If working outside the Beltway is crucial to making environmental progress, environmental groups have to learn to talk in a way people outside the Beltway can understand. "What ordinary person knows what carbon sequestration means?" asks Peggy Shepherd, the founder of West Harlem Environmental Action. Sitting in her modestly furnished office above the fast-food and discount stores of 125th Street, Shepherd points out the window and continues, "We spend a lot of our time translating this stuff into language that makes sense to people living in that housing project over there. We've got to let people know that the environment is their home, it's their kids' school, so they can understand their connection to these global problems that seem so big."

Reaching out more will also require environmentalists to face issues of race and class—issues they have long skirted, despite the well-known fact that poor and nonwhite communities are disproportionately victimized by environmental degradation. Fifteen years after the National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit put environmental justice on the green agenda, the top ranks of mainstream organizations remain dominated by white men. Of the thirty leaders in the Green Group, all but two are white; all but three are men. "Whenever I go to middle- or high-level environmental meetings, I'm always the only person of color in the room and, what's even more shocking, one of only two or three women," says Shepherd. "It's very surprising, because I know those women and people of color are out there."

"It is a bit tragic that people who are presumably progressive are so far behind on this," says Carl Anthony, deputy director of the Ford Foundation's community and resource development unit. "Take your average corporation, say Pepsi Cola; they're way ahead of the environmental movement in terms of doing at least lip service on this. Even George Bush's Administration has an African-American Secretary of State." Diversifying the movement is not a matter of political correctness, Anthony emphasizes, but of effectiveness. "Look at what the environmental justice movement has taught everybody about toxics. In the 1970s environmentalists were saying if we don't cut back on toxics, such and such bad things would happen. But environmental justice folks were saying, 'It's already happening in our communities.' Unless we build this edge to our movements, we can't win."

More and more mainstream environmentalists agree, if only because they realize that middle-class white people are increasingly unrepresentative of twenty-first-century America. "The changing demographics of the United States mean that environmental groups, to succeed, have got to speak to Latinos, African-Americans and other new constituencies," says Bill Davis, director of the State Environmental Leadership Program.

Jerome Ringo knows from his years of organizing in Louisiana that bridging the divide won't be easy. "You can't just tell people in Cancer Alley that they should join conservation groups because they'll ask, What have you done for me lately?" he says. "And conservation groups don't have much of an answer for that. They have to step up to the plate and address the issues that impact minority communities."


THE WORLD HAS HAD ENOUGH
of hunger, injustice & war.
Humanity now faces
THE ULTIMATE CHOICE:
share the world's resources and restore the planet – or perish utterly.
Fortunately, extraordinary help is at hand.
Find out more:
Free talks by noted author
Benjamin Creme
Benjamin Creme, British author, artist and lecturer, is a principal source of information on the emergence of Maitreya, the World Teacher, and his group, the Masters of Wisdom. Editor of Share International magazine, he has published twelve books on the topic.
U.S. LECTURE TOUR 2006
.. NEW YORK CITY ..
Saturday, July 29, 7pm
F.I.T. Haft Auditorium
Bldg C, 2nd Floor
7th Avenue @ 27th Street
.. LOS ANGELES ..
Saturday, August 5, 3pm
UCLA Freud Playhouse, MacGowan Hall
245 Charles E. Young Drive East
(Parking Lot 3)
.. SAN FRANCISCO ..
Sunday, August 13, 2pm
Palace of Fine Arts Theatre
3301 Lyon Street (at Bay)
www.THEEMERGENCE.ORG/NAT
888 · 242 · 8272

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

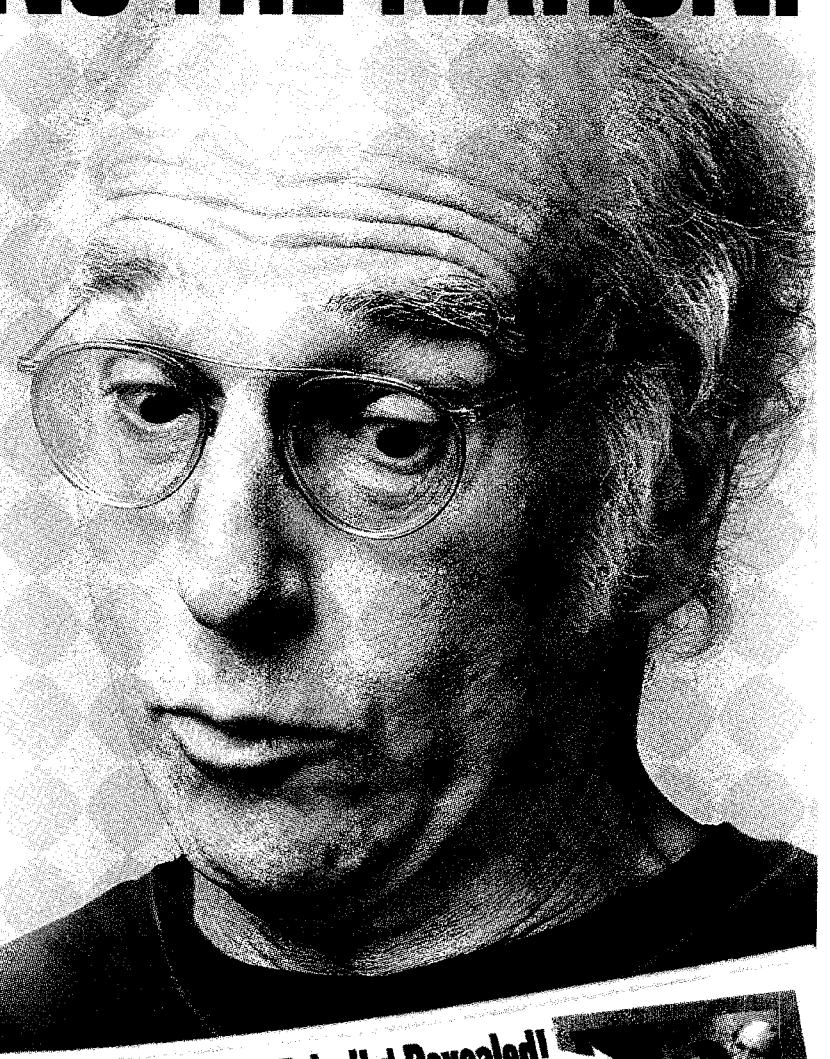
NOBODY OWNS THE NATION.

Not GE. Not Disney. Not Murdoch or Time Warner. We are a wholly owned subsidiary of our own conscience.

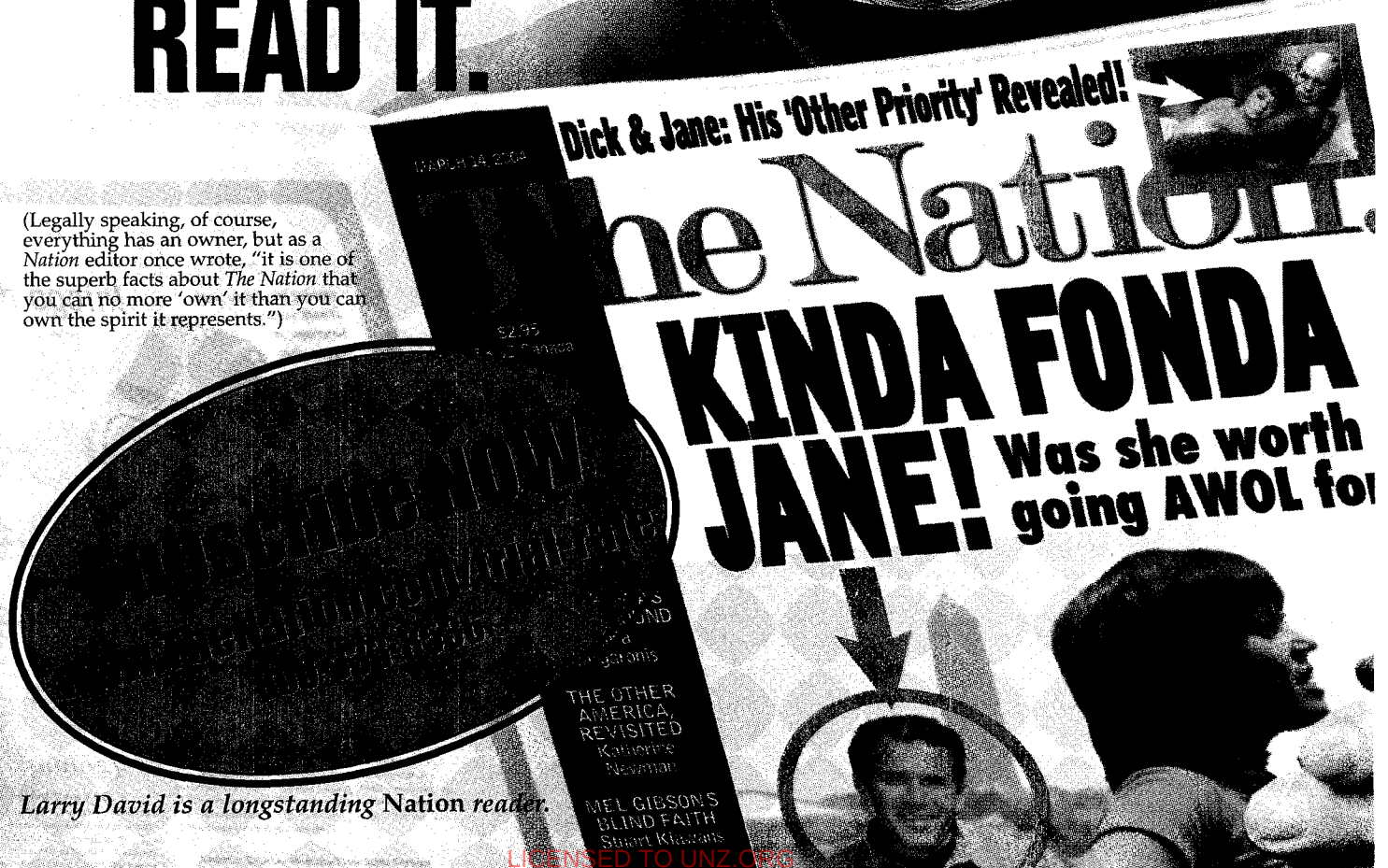
This independence is why great writers have always used *The Nation* as an Early Warning System—to expose before it's too late the frauds, felonies and follies of the all-too-private enterprise we call Our Government.

And it's why week in, week out we're read by an audience as illustrious as our authors.

If you believe, as our readers do, that the highest form of patriotism is demanding to know exactly what Government's doing in your name, why not sign on today at this *very* low rate? You can save a lot—not least of which could be your country.



THAT'S WHY SO MANY SOMEBODIES READ IT.


Dick & Jane: His 'Other Priority' Revealed!
KINDA FONDA JANE!
Was she worth going AWOL for
THE OTHER AMERICA, REVISITED
MEL GIBSON'S BLIND FAITH

(Legally speaking, of course, everything has an owner, but as a *Nation* editor once wrote, "it is one of the superb facts about *The Nation* that you can no more 'own' it than you can own the spirit it represents.")

Larry David is a longstanding Nation *reader.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mainstream environmental leaders concede the problem and are working on it, says Bill Meadows, president of the Wilderness Society and coordinator of the Green Group's efforts on diversity. "I remember sitting at a table at one of the conferences we've begun holding to support this kind of work," he says. "Seated to my right was a woman from Florida who was very involved in environmental justice issues; she was opposing a coal-fired power plant. To my left was a CEO of an organization that worked on climate change. He was bemoaning that he didn't have the constituency at a local level that could push the McCain-Lieberman climate bill in Congress. She was complaining she didn't have the national visibility needed to stop that plant. Investing in building that kind of infrastructure, to make sure those linkages occur, is the most important work we can do in the next five years."

Robert Gottlieb, the author of *Forcing the Spring*, a history of the US environmental movement, says outreach by mainstream green groups to environmental justice activists is "sufficiently widespread that you can't say it's just window dressing." But, he warns, "without a rootedness in local organizing, the full potential of this movement will not be realized."

Part of what makes Jerome Ringo interesting is that he personifies this potential to create an environmental movement that is broader and deeper than before—to "reknit the environmental majority," in Carl Pope's phrase. As a former union organizer and community activist, Ringo is clearly sympathetic to the disadvantaged. But his years as a successful business owner enable him to reach out to the private sector, and as chair of the National Wildlife Federation he can also relate to the 20 percent of voters who describe themselves as hunters and anglers. Those people are usually assumed to be conservative. But a recent poll commissioned by the NWF found that 78 percent of them support renewable energy, perhaps because they recognize that fossil fuels are ruining their recreation areas.

"The glue that connects the dots" is the fight against climate change, says Ringo. In the past, green groups diffused their impact by working on too many different issues, he continues, but now every major green group "has recognized that global warming is the issue." Donning his Apollo Alliance hat, Ringo argues that environmentalists can best pursue this battle, and gain new allies in the process, by championing green energy and jobs.

It's a good time to be making this argument. Not only has global warming finally been widely acknowledged as an urgent problem, it is now undeniable that fighting it can be extraordinarily profitable. The more that conventional energy prices go up, the more profitable it will be to invest in green energy—above all, in energy efficiency. It's not exciting, but energy efficiency—doing more work with less fuel—is and will remain for years to come the most potent and lucrative source of green energy. To paraphrase Amory Lovins, co-founder of the Rocky Mountain Institute, the greenest energy is the energy that is never produced in the first place.

Many corporations are already capitalizing on this opportunity. Over a three-year period beginning in 1999, energy giant BP invested $20 million to increase energy efficiency throughout its production facilities and offices. It ended up saving $650 million in fuel costs—a stunning thirty-two-fold return on its original investment. But why let the private sector have all the fun? There is no reason state and local governments, schools and other public entities, community groups and individuals cannot cash in as well. At the moment, most of civil society is leaving this energy efficiency windfall on the table. But clever activists could change that. Bring together the key players—public officials, energy planners, efficiency companies, unions, financiers and community leaders—outline the opportunities at hand, and the economics are so compelling that the rest of the job should almost take care of itself.

Illustrating that Republicans need not be blind to this logic, California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger has pushed some of the greenest energy policies in the nation. "The Governor's Green Building Initiative is designed to reduce the state's energy use in state buildings 20 percent by 2015," says Terry Tamminen, Schwarzenegger's top environmental aide. "We're doing audits right now on all the state government buildings and finding that if you put in energy-efficient lighting, you can earn your investment back in eighteen months." At Schwarzenegger's direction, the Public Utilities Commission has also approved a Million Solar Roofs program, which will spend $3.2 billion in the next eleven years to subsidize installing solar energy for new buildings. "That $3.2 billion will generate four times that value in jobs, according to the California Energy Commission," adds Tamminen. "And those jobs will be here in California, where much of the research and development for the next generation of solar energy is happening."

'People respond so well to the sense that, yes, we have these [environmental] challenges, but we have a can-do spirit.' —Mayor Rocky Anderson

Salt Lake City Mayor Rocky Anderson is an unapologetic Democrat in what may be the reddest state in the nation. But he has implemented serious green policies during his five years as mayor—and won not only re-election but plaudits from the local business community. "When I can get up in front of the Salt Lake City Rotary Club, which is by and large conservative businesspeople, and get a standing ovation after talking about the kinds of changes we're making here, that says a lot," Anderson says. His city government committed to reducing its greenhouse gas emissions by 7 percent from 1990 levels (i.e., more than Kyoto requires). By the end of 2005 it had already exceeded that target while boosting city revenues, thanks to dramatic increases in energy efficiency and methane recovery from its wastewater and landfill facilities. The city then shared its lessons with local businesses and citizens via so-called E2 programs—energy and environment. "We show them how they can do the same and generally save money as well," says Anderson, who adds, "It's important to have a positive message. People respond so well to the sense that, yes, we have these [environmental] challenges, but we have a can-do spirit and we can do the right thing and come out ahead."

At Anderson's invitation, Ringo spoke about the Apollo program at the National Conference of Mayors in June and got a standing ovation, too. The Apollo message is ready-made for municipal governments; 235 mayors have committed their cities

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to meeting or exceeding the greenhouse-gas emissions reductions mandated by the Kyoto Protocol. And many cities are already sold on green development plans, says Keith Schneider, a former *New York Times* reporter who is deputy director of an environmental group, the Michigan Land Use Institute. "Cities have become the great incubators of sustainable ideas and policy in the United States, and are generally much farther ahead than any state government and certainly farther ahead than the federal government," Schneider notes, adding that local leaders think such efforts are "as vital to their community's well-being as fighting crime and improving public schools."

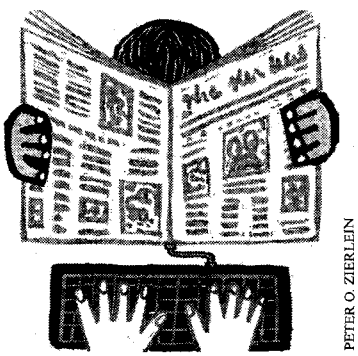
Environmentalism teaches that everything is connected. Yet when it came to politics, environmentalists ignored this truth for many years—until now. By going local, talking plainly, promoting solutions and working with a broad range of stakeholders, environmentalists could drive the next great wave of economic growth in this country while also addressing the single gravest threat to our collective future. Making such an end run around the federal government will not make George W. Bush irrelevant. But it will leave him behind, as the rest of the world has already done on climate change, and return environmentalism to the American mainstream, where it belongs. ■

WHEN LIBERAL BLOGGERS SLAM THE PRESS, THEY FACE A DIFFICULT CHALLENGE.

Rage Against the MSMachine

LAKSHMI CHAUDHRY

"You people obviously still don't get it, but you will soon," wrote right-wing blogger Jerry Hurtubise in an irate letter to the *Columbia Journalism Review*, sounding the death knell of the mainstream press. "It's over, you clowns. Now, when you lie, we will report it, every time."



PETER O. ZIERLEIN

The army of die-hard "Kossacks" assembled in the Riviera's ballroom to hear Daily Kos founder Markos Moulitsas Zúniga couldn't have agreed more. They roared in approval as Moulitsas spent nearly half his keynote address repeatedly deriding "the media elite." At the Yearly Kos convention in Las Vegas in early June, the attacks on journalists—invariably described as lazy, incompetent toadies of the ruling elite—came fast and furious, a close second to those on the Bush Administration. Slamming the press was a guaranteed applause line.

The media rage on the left—at least among those politically active online—now matches that on the right.

In one sense, all political bloggers, conservative or liberal, define themselves in opposition to mainstream journalists, who are viewed as elitists determined to marginalize the true will of the American people as represented by the bloggers themselves. As Moulitsas put it in his speech: "Unlike the out-of-touch establishment in DC, we actually know what it's like to live day-to-day in George Bush's America. Chris Matthews may say that only the kooks don't like George W. Bush, but we, like the rest of the country, know better."

But where the right-wing blogosphere accuses journalists of ideological bias, the progressive netroots view them as corrupt and compromised.

"Their view is: 'You're part of the establishment, you're part of the problem. You're scared that if you write the truth, you're going to get kicked out of the club,'" says Jennifer Palmieri, vice president of communications at the Center for American Progress. This blistering assessment is hardly surprising since the very creation of the progressive blogosphere is directly linked to an institutional failure of the press. Enraged at the media for failing to represent their views in the aftermath of 9/11, and more so in the lead-up to the Iraq War, people like Moulitsas decided, as he put it, "to stop railing at Fox News and our so-called 'liberal' pundits, and start publishing those rants on the web."

Journalists have therefore been assigned a very specific role in the netroots narrative about the ascendance of the right, which in turn enabled the wrongs of the Bush Administration. They're marked as "collaborators" who either because of cowardice or greed delivered this country into the hands of right-wing tyranny.

As progressive bloggers are quick to point out, there is a vital difference between them and their right-wing counterparts when it comes to goals. Kicking off a panel titled "Political Journalism: Problems and Solutions," Matt Stoller declared, "One of the things that differentiates what we do from the right-wing echo chamber is that they are, in my opinion, trying to destroy journalism as an institution, and we are trying to remedy its failures."

Whereas progressives view the press as vital to a healthy democracy, the right assaults journalism, aiming to undermine its legitimacy and watchdog role. Under the Bush Administration the steady drumbeat of accusations of bias reached a new crescendo, accompanied by an all-out effort to essentially decertify the press as irrelevant to politics. As White House Chief of Staff Andy Card told *The New Yorker*, the media "don't represent the public any more than other people do. In our democracy, the people who represent the public stood for election."

The Administration's attack on the press as an institution is part of its broader political strategy. "The Bush forces went after the press because they went after every check and balance on executive power," says New York University journalism professor Jay Rosen. "Bush intuitively understands that every force

Lakshmi Chaudhry is a senior editor at In These Times.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that is trying to document facts on the ground is in the way of their project." As the past six years have made clear, the failure of the mainstream press to fight back has had serious consequences for the American people.

Progressives therefore face a more difficult challenge than the one confronting conservative media-bashers: to advocate for a strong independent press able to do its job effectively and without partisan favor, while pushing its members to represent progressive issues and views. What this suggests is that in the area of media activism, borrowing from the Republican playbook—a favored strategy among progressive leaders these days—may not be quite as easy or desirable.

There is no doubt that bloggers have made media criticism matter. Their aggressive and lightning-quick fact-checking skills expose the shoddy reporting, shallow prognosticating and knee-jerk pro-establishment bias that are the hallmarks of mainstream coverage these days. They've helped reintroduce Big Media and its members to the pesky concept of "accountability": that freedom of the press carries with it the burden of responsible journalism.

Blogs have also powered a dramatic transformation in the very creation of public knowledge. The reader no longer has to wait for some kindly editor to publish her letter or issue a correction. An article in the newspaper or segment on a TV news show is now merely the first step in a broader, richer and more inclusive online debate. "The democratizing of knowledge and information and criticism is always a good thing. The ability of people to point out mistakes and balance inaccuracies is great, even if it is done in a meanspirited way," says *New York Times Magazine* writer Matt Bai. "I hope that eventually it's going to make the media more responsive and responsible about the mistakes that we make."

Whereas progressives view the press as vital to democracy, the right assaults journalism, aiming to undermine its legitimacy.

But despite the progressive netroots' intense focus on the media—which Media Matters's Jamison Foser recently described as "the defining issue of our time"—there is no clear sense of exactly what's wrong with the media system. Smart, perceptive, well-meaning bloggers can outline at length and in great detail the flaws in press coverage, but they can't say *why* the coverage is so fatally flawed. "I don't know where it's coming from," says FireDogLake blogger Christy Hardin Smith, "and I really don't know what it would take to support good journalism."

Even a media maven like Paul Waldman—who founded the now-defunct online magazine *The Gadflyer* and is a senior fellow at Media Matters—sounds a little unsure: "I don't think the left has yet defined what its problem with the media is." Various bloggers subscribe to a number of theories. The more popular among them claim that reporters are privileged members of the "cocktail weenie circuit"; afraid of the Republicans; slaves to the corporate fat cats who pay their salaries; or all of the above.

At least part of the rhetoric is less about the press itself than about bolstering the bloggers' self-identity as outsiders, which offers the emotional comfort of victimhood. "The notion of the press being in the pocket of the Bush Administration is definitely overdrawn, but it feels good," says Rosen. "This way you can feel even more marginalized."

The netroots media critique, in its tendency to rely on implicit or explicit accusations of bad faith on the part of the reporter, sometimes reflects a poor understanding of journalism. Media Matters, according to Foser, sidesteps this problem by focusing on "the end product of journalism: actual news reports. We don't try to guess what the journalists in question were thinking, or why they reported the things they did. We focus on content, not intent." Still, the liberal blogosphere's general lack of interest in understanding the internal dynamics of news reporting was apparent in the marked paucity of actual journalists on the numerous journalism-related panels at the Yearly Kos convention. "It can be so patronizing. Somebody at Yearly Kos—a guy I know and like—said to me, 'We just want to help you be better at your job,'" says Bai, one of the rare journalists invited to speak at the convention. "It's like me walking into the emergency room and telling the doctor how to do a better job. Based on what?"

There's also a significant downside to the language used by many bloggers. They may not all resort to name-calling—whores, jerks, idiots—but many adopt a manner that is derisive and sweeping. Despite his self-pitying tone, *New Republic* editor Franklin Foer wasn't far off target when he wrote that conservatives "want to weaken the press so it will stop obstructing their agenda, a motive that liberal bloggers seem to have forgotten. By repeating conservative criticisms about the allegedly elitist, sycophantic, biased MSM, liberal bloggers have played straight into conservative hands. These bloggers have begun unwittingly doing conservatives' dirty work."

But others point out that the lesson of the Bush strategy of simply treating the press as irrelevant is that it actually worked, at least until reality—be it in the form of Katrina or the Iraq War—intruded. "I haven't convinced myself that progressives need to treat reporters with the same hostility, but being nice is not working," says Waldman. "And being hostile has been pretty effective for the right. So I think we need to take a close look at that."

The greatest challenge to the netroots role as would-be media reformers is their other function as a political "noise machine." Bloggers are most powerful when they are able to influence the very mainstream media they despise. As blogger Peter Daou (who now works for Hillary Clinton's campaign) pointed out, "Simply put, without the participation of the media and the political establishment, the netroots alone cannot generate the critical mass necessary to alter or create conventional wisdom."

Grabbing the media's attention can therefore also require playing to their endless appetite for sensationalism and confrontation. On a panel titled "The Culture of Journalism: Getting a Story 'Out There'"—a panel that Stoller, the moderator, jokingly described as "the blogger ethics panel"—John Aravosis described getting CNN and ABC to cover a story about privacy violations by taking Wesley Clark's cell phone records and putting them online without his permission. He explained the secret of his success by saying, "Press coverage isn't enough. You want a feeding frenzy. So it has to be either funny or shocking: a hooker or Watergate."

Stoller describes these actions as part of "working with the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

press," which he says "doesn't necessarily mean you are giving in to those values" or compromising your credibility. There is no doubt that an effective political strategy requires mastering the rules of the media game, flawed as they may be. But it's striking how the netroots filter all their actions through the prism of political gain. The top political blogs are consumed by the desire to win. Therefore, consciously or otherwise, media activism is valued more as a political strategy than as a means of reform. There seems to be little recognition among the netroots that progressives, unlike the right, are invested in the task of figuring out how to restore a badly battered press. As Rosen points out, the question for liberal bloggers who are most immediately concerned with scoring points for their side is why progressives or Democrats should support reporters in a fight with the Bush Administration if all they get in return is "balance." "That's where their beliefs as progressives are tested," he says.

Waldman is unequivocal on the need for the left to take its cue from the Republicans, who "integrate a media critique into their whole view of politics, no matter what the issue is, be it Iraq or Social Security." He argues that the left's more complicated or sophisticated critique of the media is in fact a disadvantage. "It's useful if you can reduce it to one simple idea, just like the 'liberal bias' [accusation] functions for the conservatives," he says. "Five reasons why the media is flawed is four too many because the average person isn't going to get it."

While progressives have no intention of manipulating reality à la Karl Rove, that doesn't erase the important difference between mending the media system and gaming it to your advantage. The concept of the noise machine views the press as an institution that has to be lobbied, pressured and at times bullied into serving our political goals. Media reform advocacy, however, views the press as an institution that must be strengthened so as to better serve democratic—not Democratic—ends.

What was clear at the Yearly Kos convention is that the task of political spin—which includes messaging, controlling the narrative, creating an echo chamber, etc.—is in danger of subsuming the agenda of media reform. If progressives' problem with the media is simply about getting bad press, then a couple of wins in the electoral column will do the trick. Imbalance in mainstream coverage has less to do with the might of the Republicans than with horse-race journalism, which reflects a Beltway bias toward power. "If you're a minority party that doesn't control any branch of government, you're more likely to be ignored," says Palmieri. "I think a lot of the bloggers are just mad that right now the horse-race story doesn't work in our favor."

But the deeper flaws in political journalism that paved the way for the excesses of the Bush Administration won't simply disappear. "Any journalist who says that we're doing as good a job on politics, on national affairs or international affairs as we were doing ten or fifteen years ago is out of their mind," admits Bai. This deterioration reflects the triumph of market values more than that of Republicans, per se.

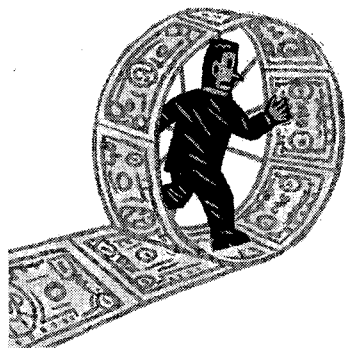
Some, like journalist and blogger Micah Sifry (a longtime *Nation* contributor), argue that the very technology that powers the blogosphere will radically change the media landscape, making it democratic, diverse and participatory in ways still unimaginable—with or without the efforts of the netroots. He may be right, but for the foreseeable future the national debate in this country will continue to be shaped by the traditional press, as it's now clear even to its most ardent advocates that the blogosphere will not replace journalism. In other words, though we have to retool our agenda to address new issues (broadband access, net neutrality, the digital divide) in the twenty-first century, media activists' old-fashioned preoccupations with access, substance, representation and ownership will continue to be our best bet as we fight for a more democratic future. ■

CLINTON-ERA POLICIES ARE TOUTED AS THE WAY TO DEAL WITH TRADE-INDUCED INEQUITIES.

Born-Again Rubinomics

WILLIAM GREIDER

When Robert Rubin speaks his mind, his thoughts on economic policy are the gold standard for the Democratic Party. The former Treasury Secretary, now executive co-chair of Citigroup, captured the party's allegiance in the 1990s as principal architect of Bill Clinton's governing strategy, the conservative approach known as "Rubinomics" (or less often "Clintonomics"). Balancing the budget and aggressively pushing trade liberalization went hard against liberal intentions and the party's working-class base. But when Clinton's second term ended in booming prosperity, full employment and rising wages, most Democrats told themselves, Listen to Bob Rubin and good things happen.



PETER O. ZIERLEIN

So it's a big deal when Robert Rubin changes the subject and begins to talk about income inequality as "a deeply troubling fact of American economic life" that threatens the trading system, even the stability of "capitalist, democratic society." More startling, Rubin now freely acknowledges what the American establishment for many years denied or dismissed as inconsequential—globalization's role in generating the thirty-year stagnation of US wages, squeezing middle-class families and below, while directing income growth mainly to the upper brackets. A lot of Americans already knew this. Critics of "free trade" have been saying as much for years. But when Bob Rubin says it, his words can move politicians, if not financial markets.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rubin has launched the Hamilton Project, a policy group of like-minded economists and financiers who are developing ameliorative measures to aid the threatened workforce and, he hopes, to create a broader political constituency that will defend the trading system against popular backlash. A strategy paper Rubin co-wrote defines the core problem: "Prosperity has neither trickled down nor rippled outward. Between 1973 and 2003, real GDP per capita in the United States increased 73 percent, while real median hourly compensation rose only 13 percent."

A storm is coming, Rubin fears. He wants a new national debate around these facts. In an interview, he explains the danger he foresees for global trade: "Where there's a great deal of insecurity, where median real wages are, roughly speaking, stagnant...where a recent Pew poll showed 55 percent of the American people think their kids will be worse off than they are, I think there is a real danger of heightened difficulty around issues that are already difficult, like trade.... Look at the difficulty around immigration."

Members of the Hamilton Project's advisory board see themselves as progressive-minded, but they don't stray from conventional wisdom.

Princeton economist Alan Blinder, a Hamilton participant and Federal Reserve vice chair in the Clinton years, describes the "difficulty" in more ominous terms: "I think the prospects for the liberal trade order are not great," he says. "There's a whole class of people who are smart, well educated and articulate, and politically involved who will not just sit there and take it" when their jobs are moved offshore. He thinks CNN commentator Lou Dobbs, who has built a populist following by attacking globalization and immigration, "is just the beginning—nothing compared to what's going to happen in the future."

What should we make of Rubin's heightened concern for the "losers" who, he now recognizes, include a vast portion of the populace? Many view the Hamilton Project as just more talk-talk. I regard it as an important event—a "course correction" in elite thinking that, given Rubin's influence, may reshape the familiar trade debate, at least among Democrats. Rubin's central objective, however, is to control the terms of debate: to address the economic disparities globalization has generated but without disturbing anything fundamental in the global system itself.

His program consists mostly of familiar ideas that might soften the pain for displaced workers. But I doubt the Hamilton proposals will do much, if anything, to reduce the global forces that are depressing incomes for half or more of the American workforce. Even Rubin is uncertain. When I ask if his agenda will have any effect at all on the global convergence of wages—the top falling gradually toward the rising bottom—he says: "Well, I think that's a question to which nobody knows the answer. I think the proposals and approach we are proposing are the way to get the best possible outcome for the United States in a complicated world.... But whether that's going to stop the global convergence of wages, I don't know the answer to that. I would guess the answer is no."

Despite my skepticism about his policy ideas, I think Rubin is providing a significant opening for the opposition—a new chance for labor-liberal reformers to make themselves heard with a more fundamental critique of globalization. Up to now, the standard trade debate has been utterly simple-minded—"free trade good, no trade bad"—and anyone who opposes trade agreements or WTO rules is dismissed as a backward "protectionist." The enlightened position, as major media always explain, is to support the "win-win" promise of globalization.

Only Rubin is departing a bit from that script, effectively accepting the opposition's central complaint that "win-win" is a cruel distortion of what's happening. If so many Americans are actually losing ground, Rubin asks, shouldn't government do something about that? Yes, certainly, but that admission invites a different question: Are his establishment proposals actually likely to improve the American condition, or does the wage deterioration require more aggressive reforms?

Ideas do matter. My hope for more complex and honest debate may sound too wishful, but I was struck in our lengthy interview by Rubin's willingness to discuss contrary propositions, and by his disarmingly self-effacing and reflective manner (the transcript is posted at www.thenation.com). Several times, I was taken aback when his comments made tentative concessions to the opposition's argument. He even endorsed, though only in broad principle, some objectives for reforming global trade that his critics have long advocated.

I suggest that reformers test his sincerity. In the same spirit, they might try to initiate a conversation about what Rubin calls the "conceptual framework" for reform. He says he would welcome the discussion.

The Hamilton Project's early policy output, I concede, doesn't encourage a belief that reasoned dialogue with dissenters is what Rubin has in mind. Advisory board members see themselves as progressive-minded, but they do not stray from the mainstream's conventional wisdom—lots of Harvard, Princeton and Berkeley, no one from the ranks of "free trade" skeptics. The twenty-five-member board includes thirteen investment bankers, venture capitalists and hedge-fund managers from Wall Street and the West Coast—guys who, like Rubin, do the investment deals at home and abroad.

There's already a warm political glow. At the Hamilton launch in April, Senator Barack Obama hailed the group as "some of the most innovative, thoughtful policy-makers... the sort of breath of fresh air that I think this town needs." Senator Hillary Clinton's recent economic speeches are, not surprisingly, a good fit with Rubin's thinking, since the pair's political closeness is well-known. Washington's Clintonistas-in-waiting embrace and amplify Rubin's ideas. He helps them arrange financing for new projects, like John Podesta's Center for American Progress. Democratic candidates seeking Wall Street campaign money hope for Rubin's blessing, a seal of approval that can open checkbooks.

The "soft" ideas in the Hamilton Project playbook are mostly old ideas—improve education and retraining, provide "wage insurance" payments to dislocated workers, increase public investment in industrial development and infrastructure. All are worthy things to do, but they seem like tinkering around the edges. Ron Blackwell, chief economist of the AFL-CIO, observes,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"What they've got going are these little ideas that sound like they are forward-looking and respond to the problem of living standards, but they don't speak to power."

The right-of-center tilt of Rubin's group is reflected in some secondary proposals that are sure to rattle Democratic constituencies: Reform education by weakening teacher tenure, linking it to student performance; reform the system for tort litigation to eliminate what Rubin describes as "vast excess today" (his own firm suffered from tort litigation when it had to pay billions to settle investor lawsuits for Citigroup's role in the financial fraud at Enron and other corporate scandals).

The "hard" economic propositions in Rubin's agenda are essentially the same ones he pushed successfully in the Clinton Administration: Balance the budget to boost national savings and thereby (Rubin assumes) reduce the country's horrendous trade deficits and enormous capital borrowing from abroad, where the creditors are led by China and Japan; advance more trade agreements if possible, but don't tamper with the trading rules or international institutions that currently govern the system.

'This is almost like Clintonomics 2.0.'
—Peter Orszag, director Hamilton Project

In other words, born-again Rubinomics. Peter Orszag, the young economist who is Hamilton's director, doesn't quarrel with the label, saying, "This is almost like Clintonomics 2.0." Rubin says, "The basic principles of sound economic policy I don't think change." The script sounds a lot like the "putting people first" platform Bill Clinton ran on back in 1992, though in office he abandoned most public investment in favor of deficit reduction. Orszag calls it a "warm-hearted but cool-headed" agenda. But will it work? That's the question I would like to hear debated among Dems before they sign up for more Rubin magic. Clinton's second-term boom did temporarily reverse the downward wage trends, though economists still argue over the cause and effect. But balancing the budget again is unlikely to produce the same results, for lots of reasons. While increasing national savings is a very important goal, the world is now awash in surplus capital. And the United States is in a much deeper hole, borrowing $700 billion a year from abroad to sustain the domestic economy.

More to the point, Rubinomics in the 1990s did not reverse the long-term trend of rising trade deficits in goods and services or the deepening current-account deficits in capital borrowing from abroad, which could bring on a crisis if foreign lenders decide to pull the plug. In fact, both capital and trade deficits exploded at the very moment Clinton's budget was coming into balance. As the budget moved from deficit to surplus, the US current-account deficit nearly tripled, from 1.6 to 4.2 percent of GDP (it is now around 7 percent).

Rubin is sticking to his convictions, though respected conservative economists no longer believe in the "twin deficit" relationship. Studies by the Federal Reserve and the IMF found the relationship too weak to matter much. The IMF estimates that balancing the budget now would reduce the current-account deficit only slightly, while the required fiscal austerity would produce a five-year loss of more than $300 billion in economic output.

Rubin defends his thesis by blaming the rising trade deficit on inflexible currency exchange with China and other Asian nations. Correct that and everything will be fine, he says. Further, he explains that the capital deficits in the Clinton years were actually a good thing because the high-tech investment boom was drawing in more foreign investors. He neglects to mention that the boom included the high-tech stock-market "bubble" that collapsed a year later on George W. Bush's watch, with $6 trillion in losses for investors.

In any case, Rubin sees nothing in the trading system itself that needs fixing. "Maybe I'm missing something," he says, "but I don't think there's anything in the design of the system we would have done differently."

Another debatable tenet in Rubin's thinking is the familiar mantra that more education will save us in the long run—that is, improving Americans' skills and knowledge will offset the low-wage competition. Rubin's tone is sympathetic to workers, but some acolytes pushing this logic sound like they are "blaming the victim." US educational attainment levels, after all, rose robustly during the last generation with no effect on job losses or wage stagnation. "I actually think education is key," Rubin insists. "I'm granting I think your point is right—the cost gap," the cheaper labor abroad, which may pull down US wages for another generation. But to some extent, he says, "the cost gap will, over time actually, probably get partially solved by their increasing wages [in China and India], hopefully with as little as possible our wages coming down.... The more productive we are, the better we can compete with them."

There's one large and looming problem with that logic: The number of "losers" whose jobs are outsourced to foreign labor markets is getting much larger than the establishment had envisioned, and the job losses are creeping up the income ladder to undermine people in well-educated, highly paid occupations. In a startling *Foreign Affairs* essay, Alan Blinder warned that "tens of millions" of job losses are ahead from outsourcing, not for the already decimated blue-collar workers in manufacturing but for accountants, software designers and other high-status professions. These are people who presumably did the "right thing" by getting advanced educations. How, I ask Blinder, does educational improvement help them, since they are already well educated? "I wish I knew the answer to that," Blinder replies. "On balance, more education is better than less education, but it's not a panacea." He talks vaguely of changing the style of American schooling.

Blinder's ominous forecast for high-skilled jobs is another belated recognition by establishment authorities that they were wrong, since the process of moving engineering work to Asia, where they could hire cheaper engineers, started two decades ago. Free-trade advocates like Blinder are complacent about the loss of manufacturing jobs, comparing it to the technological changes that wiped out agricultural employment a century ago. "It's pretty inevitable," he says. They seem more worried now that white-collar jobs are being wiped out. But they think it would be a big mistake to interfere. "It's like global warming," he ex-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

plains. "If there is severe global warming, you may have to change the preparations for bad weather." But Blinder's "global warming" metaphor actually expresses the viewpoint of the other side. Like global warming, the trading system is not an act of nature. It is a set of man-made rules—protecting capital and ignoring labor. Finance and industry persuaded government to adopt these terms. But they can be altered, just as government can order industry to reform itself to curb the dangers of global warming. That difference—deference to the status quo versus a vision for reform—is the nut of the argument between the two sides.

When I asked Rubin to consider labor's critique and its argument for global labor standards, I was pleasantly surprised that he did not brush off the question. Instead, we had an engaging back and forth.

Without global rights for workers to organize and some version of a minimum wage pegged to each country's economic conditions, the "race to the bottom" is sure to continue, I suggest. When workers start mobilizing for higher wages, multinationals counter by moving production to the next available cheap labor market. Middle-class wages fall at the top, but the bottom does not rise as rapidly as it should. "But it's a complicated question," Rubin responds. Improving the distribution of incomes in poorer countries "is in everybody's interest," he agrees. "On the other hand, I've had exposure to people who make that argument, and I think they make it as a way to prevent trade liberalization.... The one hope some of these countries have to take people out of abject poverty is that their labor-cost advantage will result in a shift of production to their countries.... Would you say the people of Sri Lanka have to stay in abject poverty to keep that from happening?"

Labor rights, I counter, do not prevent the very poorest countries from developing on the advantage of their cheap labor, but reform would require all developing countries to operate so that wage levels can rise proportionate to the economy's rising productivity and profit, however that is measured. "Something like that ought to be an objective of the global system," Rubin agrees. But he says he has never seen a convincing model of how this might work. He remains skeptical. He admits it is disturbing that economic advances in some countries "still have had very little effect on the poverty rate, and middle-income people haven't done all that well either. So the political economic elites had all this economic benefit, and they were indifferent to poverty, to the poor."

The global system, I point out, protects capital by imposing dense rules on how a developing nation must treat investment capital, banking, patents and intellectual property rights. If a poor country doesn't accept the rules for capital, it doesn't get to play in the global system. Yet when organized labor seeks basic rights for working people around the world to organize unions and bargain collectively, they are denounced as "protectionist" and denied any recognition. Is that fair? "Well, I guess it's true," Rubin says hesitantly. "You can say, Why distinguish between those [rules for capital] and labor conditions?" Perhaps it is justified, he says, because labor and especially environmental rights are "a bit further removed" from trade. "I think it's the right objective," Rubin says. "But I still think it's a very complicated question whether you put labor conditions in an agreement. I would not hold back from going ahead on a trade agreement because another country refused to accept labor standards."

To my surprise, Rubin next recalls the work of John Kenneth Galbraith and his famous concept of "countervailing powers." Market-based capitalism, Rubin explains, is kept stable, broadly prosperous and equitable because its excesses are checked by labor unions, government and other institutions with countervailing power. "If you have a big company negotiate with its workers and the workers aren't organized, it isn't real negotiations," he says, adding, "If one side has no negotiating power, that isn't really a market-based system. It's an imposition of one on the other." This is a startling statement: The man from Citigroup has articulated the essential reasoning that makes the case for including labor rights in the global trading system.

That conversation has convinced me that outgunned reformers ought to make use of Rubin's musings. Knock on his door and try to initiate a dialogue. If the critics come forward and offer their ideas on a "conceptual framework" for reform, I ask, would the Hamilton Project be willing to discuss them? Rubin reiterates his doubts and reservations. "But the answer is yes," he says. "The answer is absolutely yes." Skeptical friends and kindred spirits will probably say to me, You have been conned. I would say back to them, What have you got to lose by talking to the man?

The Hamilton Project is a sophisticated example of what I call "deep lobbying"—developing well in advance of the 2008 presidential election an agenda that safely avoids critical challenges to the global system and defines the terms of debate in very limiting ways. Democratic hopefuls who sign on can gain the cover of Rubin's respectability. Long before voters even know who the candidates are, the party's debate might be over before it begins. Given this prospect for premature consensus, it might be a good idea to start the debate right now.

In some ways, Robert Rubin reminds me of the original Progressives of the early twentieth century, reformers drawn from the emerging middle class of managerial and professional people. They tried in various ways to reconcile the tumultuous conflicts between capital and labor but without getting blood on their hands. They were horrified by the greed and inhumanity of industrial capitalism but also wished to keep their distance from Socialists and the struggling labor movement.

Rubin is a "nice guy"—even adversaries say so—and I suspect he feels similar tensions. He sincerely would like to work things out—find some kind of reasonable balance—but without interrupting the creative destruction under way in the global system. The big difference separating him from the Progressives is that Rubin and his investment-banking colleagues are men of capital. At Goldman Sachs, Rubin was doing major deals in Mexico before he came to Washington to push NAFTA and balanced budgets. At Citigroup he travels to Beijing and Shanghai, promoting client interests. I don't question his sincerity. But as a reformer, he has competing demands on his loyalty.

My hunch is that Rubin won't succeed any more than the original Progressives in reconciling the competing forces (the New Deal eventually did). The tumult most likely will grow louder and possibly violent before reformers gain the political power to accomplish their serious goals. Meanwhile, if popular anger does erupt here and around the world, there won't be much space left for "nice guys" seeking a reasonable discussion. ■

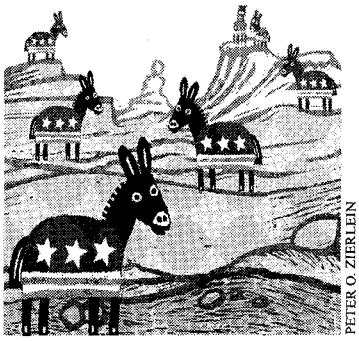
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A TOP DEMOCRATIC HOPE FOR RETAKING THE HOUSE IS AN OUTSPOKEN WAR OPPONENT.

Swing-Time in New Mexico

MARC COOPER

Albuquerque



PETER O. ZIERLEIN

When George W. Bush buzzed through here for a few hours in mid-June on a fundraising stop for local Republican Congresswoman Heather Wilson, he drew the usual sort of noisy protest. Braving a fearsome weekday summer sun, a couple of hundred demonstrators showed up in front of the Hyatt Hotel, where Bush was being feted by supporters who had paid $1,000 a seat and contributed $375,000 to Wilson's campaign. Although the protest organizers had filled the streets outside with mournful black balloons, ask just about any demonstrator and he or she would readily admit how happy the group was that Bush had come to visit.

"Oh, God, yeah, it's great for us," is how Carter Bundy, regional political director of the public employees union and one of the protest rally organizers, put it. Indeed, here in the ultimate swing Congressional district, in the ultimate swing state—a state that Gore won by 366 votes and Kerry lost by only a few thousand—Democrats think the best thing they've got going for them this year is the albatross of George W. Bush hung around the necks of their local opponents. They're certainly counting on incumbent Wilson's coziness with an unpopular White House to be her undoing come November.

Though party registration in the New Mexico 1st Congressional District breaks 46 to 35 in favor of Democrats and more than 40 percent of the heavily urbanized district is Latino, Republicans have held the seat since its creation in 1982. Political analysts have been continually stumped by the high number of crossover voters. One theory is that a significant sector of Latino males in the district are active-duty military or vets and vote with conservatives. A more demonstrative factor is that the two local daily papers have tilted egregiously toward the GOP. But whatever the sources of the GOP's past strength, the Republican hold on the seat has been weakening. Democrats have relentlessly targeted it since 1998, when Wilson was first elected. She squeaked by with a 6 percentage-point margin that year, when a Green candidate took 10 percent of the vote, and she has held it ever since.

For this November's race, however, Wilson has drawn her most formidable opponent to date: New Mexico's two-term attorney general, Patricia Madrid. And local Democrats believe this could be the breakthrough year when they capture Wilson's seat, one of the fifteen they need to take back the House. Strategists in both parties have ranked the Madrid-Wilson battle as one of the top ten Congressional races this fall and, with national money coming in from both sides, perhaps one of the most expensive. "It's a perfect storm for us," says union official Bundy, convinced the Democrats have finally got the right candidate, at the right time, to essentially turn the contest into a referendum on the President. "We've got an excellent organization today and one that is ready to roll," says Democratic county chair Marvin Moss, who with his wispy hair looks like Trotsky in cowboy boots and a bolo tie. "And if you ask what's got them moving, I need say only one word—Bush."

"I want your bodies, I want your hearts, I want your minds," said the diminutive 59-year-old Madrid as she revved up an enchilada-laden luncheon of about 100 volunteers in her modest Albuquerque campaign headquarters—a few rooms in a medical building just off a freeway off-ramp. This was to be the first weekend of intensive canvassing, an unusually early start for a Congressional campaign, and Madrid was making the most of it. "This is really the first day of the fight to take back America," she said, to her supporters' applause. She got a similarly warm response when she slammed the Administration's policies on Medicare, tax cuts and energy—all major themes of her campaign. But the applause thundered when she worked her way to the issue of the war, which she denounced as "horrible and misguided."

"I think the war is the key issue across the country and the war is the key issue in my campaign," Madrid told *The Nation* in a later, extended interview. "It doesn't fit well with people how we got there on multiple misrepresentations. I'm not a candidate that thinks I should be a muted Democratic voice. I think we should take positions. I think we should talk about the war. I think it is a strength, not a weakness. I'm on the ground, and I know people are genuinely concerned; that this is what's on everybody's mind and we have to have answers."

And while Madrid says she's an admirer of troop withdrawal proposals of the sort championed by Pennsylvania Representative John Murtha, and while she says that "it was a mistake to go to war in the first place," it would be too simplistic to merely say she is running as an antiwar candidate. Madrid is, instead, quite representative of a new strain of Mountain State liberalism that positions itself ideologically between the party's coastal progressives and its more conservative and moderate voices in the heartland (Montana Governor Brian Schweitzer might be the highest-profile face of this Democratic current). Madrid, for example, has not signed on to a resolution passed by the New Mexico Democratic Party calling for George W. Bush's impeachment. She's liberal enough to resonate with the party base, but she is careful to avoid unnecessary polarization of more centrist voters.

Marc Cooper, a Nation *contributing editor, is a visiting professor of journalism and associate director of the Institute for Justice and Journalism at the USC Annenberg School for Communication.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

She goes out of her way to stress that a new, Democrat-dominated House would be obligated to conduct a certain amount of investigation of Bush's war and civil liberties policies but adds that her political energy would be mostly dedicated to working on legislation in the areas she regards as most important: Medicare, healthcare and the environment.

No accident, probably, that she chaired John Edwards's statewide campaign in 2004 and that her son is currently working as one of his staffers. She's using her record as attorney general to shape the same sort of populist, bread-and-butter message that distinguished Edwards's 2004 primary run, one that also defied traditional ideological classification. "When John Edwards speaks it reminds me of when I was in college and heard speakers that inspired me," Madrid said. "And that's what we're supposed to be. And at my age, he inspires me."

A former labor lawyer, Madrid was the first woman to win election to the district judicial bench. As attorney general she has built a pro-consumer, pro-environment record. She's won a favorable reputation for taking on predatory lenders, she didn't flinch from suing a dozen Indian gaming tribes for back taxes (even though the tribes are major Democratic donors) and she used her office to oppose energy deregulation. She has the support of popular and sometimes imperious New Mexico Governor Bill Richardson, but she boasts about "standing up" to him when his office tried to purchase a plane with highway funds and when he tried to extend his control over the state university's board of regents.

Madrid avoids unnecessary polarization, discussing the war but stressing she'd focus on Medicare, healthcare and the environment.

Edwards, as well as Wesley Clark, James Carville, Hillary Clinton and Barney Frank, is among the high-profile Democrats who have come out to stump and fundraise for Madrid. On the other side, not only did the President—accompanied by his top adviser, Karl Rove—show up to support her incumbent opponent but so, earlier, did Laura Bush. "My opponent's biggest liability is her attachment to Bush and Cheney," Madrid said as, outside the doors of her office, volunteers were signing up for precinct walking. "It's her rubber-stamp voting on the important issues that makes this race a referendum on the President, and I'm perfectly comfortable with that."

Wilson, a 45-year-old Air Force veteran, a New Hampshire native and an Oxford PhD in international relations, has been visibly more uneasy of late about her relationship with the White House. She votes as much with the White House as most Republican Representatives do—about 90 percent of the time. But she has recently taken pains to distance herself from Bush on some high-visibility issues. When the NSA domestic spying scandal broke earlier this year, Wilson, who sits on one of the agency's Congressional oversight committees, landed in the front section of the *New York Times* when she expressed "serious concerns" about the surveillance program (though she later refused to vote for an amendment that would have crimped it). One of the top recipients of former Congressman Tom DeLay's fundraising largesse, Wilson returned $10,000 from one of the PACs associated with him after he was accused of money laundering, and she opposed his return to a leadership post. She also broke with other Republicans in opposing a weakened Congressional ethics measure. In a touch of irony, Bush, during his brief fundraising stopover for her, highlighted her independence—the wrong person to be offering this sort of endorsement. "Heather Wilson is an independent soul," Bush told his paying audience. "That's what you want for a person from this district."

Wilson, while endangered, should not be counted out. A hand-picked protégé of veteran Senator Pete Domenici, she has the solid support of the Republican Party machine. Known as "leather Heather" not only for her Air Force background but also for her political resolve, she's recognized as a tenacious political fighter and an effective elected official. "Heather Wilson is very good at bringing home the bacon for this district," says University of New Mexico political scientist Lonna Atkeson. "And even her critics recognize that her constituent services are excellent." There's also a significant military constituency in the district, home to both Kirtland Air Force Base and the Sandia National Labs, a top nuclear research site.

But Christine Trujillo, president of the state AFL-CIO, thinks that in Madrid, Wilson has finally met her match. "We've had some great candidates in the past, but people are right when they say New Mexicans are too damn nice," she said. "Leather Heather has been able to frame her previous campaigns as that of a gentle lady running against men. But that's baloney. This time her opponent is a Hispanic attorney general who has taken off the gloves and isn't afraid to fight."

Political scientist Atkeson also sees a distinguishing strength in Madrid's campaign. None of Wilson's previous challengers had the sort of broad, statewide name recognition Madrid has. So in a state full of crossover voters, and with Madrid having won two terms as attorney general, Atkeson said, "there are going to be a lot of Republican and independent voters in the district who already know and have already once voted for Madrid."

Madrid has her own vulnerabilities. Her opponents criticize her for not acting quickly enough to pursue the still-unfolding corruption scandals of two other statewide Democratic pols, though she recently indicted one of them on a series of felony charges. Some of her supporters are privately concerned about what they say is a weak stump style, and others are concerned that in face-to-face debates with Wilson, Madrid will have to be better prepared on the details of her Congressional proposals. She also ruffled some sensibilities among LGBT activists when she shut down a move to issue gay marriage licenses in one county. And she has earned the enmity of the state's once sizable but now greatly diminished Green Party constituency when she made it more difficult for smaller parties to have statewide ballot access.

A drive through the sprawling west side of Albuquerque, where instant cookie-cutter suburbs of affordable sand-colored single-family homes and condos are mushrooming among dusty, barren hills, serves as a fitting metaphor for what is the no-man's land of American politics—the Undecided Center. It's here, both politically and geographically, that this election is likely to be decided. Both candidates,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

both parties, scramble in figuring out how to appeal to the families taking up residence in places called Country Meadows, The Trails or Shadow Ridge, where the only cultural landmarks are a Walgreens or a Chili's. The RNC, DNC, NRA, organized labor, the energy lobbies and the League of Conservation Voters, among many, many others, will be politically bombarding these neighborhoods in the weeks to come, trying to influence and capture them.

But if either Democrats or Republicans really knew the answer to what will move voters in the middle, elections probably wouldn't be so close in New Mexico. Even as voters in this district were giving George W. Bush a narrow win in 2000 and John Kerry a narrow win in 2004, they were also re-electing Heather Wilson. Indeed, the odd contours of voter turnout, of crossover voting and the nearly 20 percent of registered voters who declare as independents make political forecasting in these parts a risky business.

Inside the Madrid campaign the phrase "the 13 percent" is used as shorthand to describe the much-vaunted undecided vote. The number derives from the first reliable poll of the campaign, earlier this year, which showed Wilson at 44 percent, Madrid at 43 percent and undecided at 13 percent. Madrid knows that the issue of how to capture this undecided middle is what bedevils the Democrats and also that strictly appealing to these voters often neuters and mutes the party.

"I think Democrats need to find their voice," Madrid said as we concluded our conversation. "We need to speak up in a principled way and take positions. And I don't think we've always spoken up enough. Sometimes we're too worried about that 13 percent. But we need to speak to everyone the same way about the same issues and not be afraid of them. What is leadership if not that?" ■

A NEW FORM OF GLOBAL DOMINATION REQUIRES NEW FORMS OF RESISTANCE.

From Imperialism to Empire

MICHAEL HARDT

With every day's headlines, the failure of the Bush Administration's unilateralist policies and imperialist adventures becomes clearer. In Iraq the military occupation and efforts at nation-building are such fiascos that even the architects of the war can no longer muster optimism. The fact that Abu Musab al-Zarqawi's death, which earlier would have been celebrated as a sign of imminent victory, solicited from George W. Bush only a note of caution on the long road ahead is a measure of how deep things have sunk.

PETER O. ZIERLEIN

Meanwhile in Afghanistan, which until recently had been vaunted as the model of success, the veneer of order and control has completely dissolved. We are now told that there is danger of a resurgence of the Taliban, the government's handle on social order is tenuous at best and the population is seething with resentment against the US occupying forces. Here, too, the mirage of victory has been revealed as failure.

It is worth taking a moment to step back from the rush of events, though, to reflect on what these failures mean. My view is that they indicate not only the errors of one government's policies but also the end of imperialism itself and the emergence of a new logic of global power that comes with new dangers and possibilities. In order to understand this "end of imperialism" and what it means for politics, we need to look back a few years and approach the current failures from another perspective.

Not so long ago, in the 1990s, after the collapse of the cold war, the "new world order" posed an intellectual challenge to understand the nature of an emerging form of global power that was not simply a repetition of the old imperialisms. A series of surprisingly powerful social protests took aim at this new global order. The movements gained mass media attention only after the Seattle demonstrations in 1999, but they had grown throughout the decade in other parts of the world, with efforts to grasp this new global enemy in its various guises, including neoliberalism, the WTO, the IMF and NAFTA. It already seemed then, in fact, that the age of imperialism—that is, the imposition of the national sovereignty of a dominant country over foreign territory through colonial administration, military occupation or economic coercion—had finally come to an end. The demise of the logics and structures of imperialism obviously had not given way to a democratic and free global society but rather to a new form of domination that needed to be understood and confronted differently.

Beginning in 2001, however, after the September 11 attacks and especially after the launch of the US "war on terror," the notion that the era of imperialism had come to an end suddenly seemed entirely implausible. The US government's new wars, its policy of pre-emptive strikes, its military occupations, its seizure of oilfields and its projects to remake the political map of the Middle East were all immediately recognized as imperialist endeavors. The Bush doctrine of unilateralism was, in fact, nothing but a new name for US imperialism.

It was shocking how quickly many right-wing intellectuals and politicians began to speak positively about imperialism. For some, "imperialist" ceased to be an accusation and became a name they could embrace openly. Many others, who demurred

Michael Hardt teaches in the Literature Program at Duke University. He is co-author, with Antonio Negri, of Empire *and* Multitude.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from using the term imperialism, advocated unilateral US military interventions and occupations for "advancing freedom" that were clearly imperialist in substance. Neoconservative intellectuals were the leaders in this return to imperialism, but the White House authors of the Iraq War also conceived the world and the US role in it through the old-fashioned lens of an imperialist imaginary, adopting the traditional weapons and objectives of the imperialist traditions.

Many on the left, as well, quickly returned after 9/11 to traditional discourses of imperialism. Suddenly it seemed that the new world order wasn't so hard to understand—and it wasn't even so new! It was just US imperialism, after all. And indeed we have seen a flood of books from leftist intellectuals about the new (or not so new) US imperialism.

The problem with this interpretation of world events and this notion of a resurgence of US imperialism is that the forces of reality are acting against it. I am not posing any question about the justness of imperialism—I take for granted an absolute opposition to it. My point is rather that imperialism is no longer an adequate concept for understanding global power and domination, and clinging to it can blind us to the new forms of power emerging today.

The Death Throes of US Imperialism

Perhaps US leaders could play the role of successful imperialists when they celebrated the "victory of Baghdad" in spring 2003, but things have changed since then. The Iraq War is a disaster, not just for the Iraqi people and the occupying soldiers but also for the authors of the war. They have proven themselves incapable of doing what imperialists must do. Not only have they failed militarily by being unable to contain a stubborn insurgency; they have also failed to create a stable market for profits, failed to make the oil money pay their expenses and failed to line up a substantial number of other countries and political forces behind their cause. The prestige and hegemonic capacities of the United States have steadily declined through the course of the war, particularly with the widespread reporting of civilian deaths, illegal imprisonment and torture. The architects of the war seemed to think they could follow and even outdo the old imperialists with superior efficiency and power, but, to the contrary, they have demonstrated their inability to conduct imperialist adventures successfully.

In other parts of the world, too, attempts at US unilateral policies are being challenged. The burial of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) process, for example, in Mar de Plata, Argentina, this past November is an indication of the incapacity of US imperialism. The United States is no longer able to impose its economic policies on its "backyard" as it had throughout the twentieth century.

The failures of US imperialism are also clear with respect to the domestic situation. The devastation of Hurricane Katrina was a symptom of this inability, one that revealed the poverty, social division, structural racism and profound dysfunction of the US government. Among many other things, the New Orleans disaster demonstrated, in an era defined by neoliberal economic policies, the inability of the United States to devote so many resources to foreign conquest and occupation while maintaining social well-being and stability at home.

Some right-wing ideologues, of course, admit setbacks but still cling to the possibilities of imperialism. The strategy is correct, they say; there were just tactical errors. If only the US military had attacked the Iraqi resistance harder at the beginning, if only they had enlisted the help of some Baathist officials, if only the United States had devoted more troops... It is not surprising that right-wing intellectuals and politicians who have staked their careers on imperialism would stubbornly stick to it. More surprising, however, is that many leftist intellectuals similarly continue to miscalculate US imperialist power.

My view is that the recent failures of US imperialist adventures are not simply the result of tactical errors or bad luck but of a profound shift in global power structures. One might say that the United States is not powerful enough today to be an imperialist power—and I think that is true, but it misses the deeper, more important point: that imperialism and its methods are losing their effectiveness and another form of global domination is emerging in its stead.

Clearly, we should oppose the Bush doctrine, the Iraq War and all other imperialist projects. And there is no doubt the United States is the most dominant nation-state, in economic and political as well as military terms. However, no nation-state today, not even the United States, is capable of determining and maintaining order over foreign territory with the old imperialist instruments, whether occupying armies or imposed economic models. So while there's no question that US leaders—through an overestimation of their power and a failure to recognize the new characteristics of the current global situation—will again act as imperialists, they cannot be successful. That is what I mean when I insist that the age of imperialism, even US imperialism, is over.

It is important to remember that imperialism did not die of its own accord. It was defeated by decades of anti-imperialist struggles, particularly national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Each time an imperialist power was defeated, of course, and national sovereignty achieved—from Indonesia to India and Senegal, from Algeria to Cuba and Vietnam—that did not mean that imperialism as such was defeated. After each defeat, imperialism lived on as a form of domination and continued to be applied elsewhere. We have reached a point with the accumulation of these defeats, however, when the general form itself has lost its applicability. Anti-imperialist struggles were the primary force that undermined imperialism and led ultimately to its death.

Some time in the future, looking back on our present period of US unilateralism, maybe it will seem like that cliché moment at the end of every teen horror movie when the young survivors gather around the grave of the monster they've defeated. As the reassuring music starts and the protagonists are beginning to walk away from the grave, just when we expect the final credits to roll, the monster's hand shoots up through the dirt and grabs one of them by the ankle, sending one last gasp of fear through the theater. But after that final shock they can cut off the arm, put the monster to rest and walk away. There is no point continuing the fight against the old monster, dead and buried. Its time has passed. But we know there will be a sequel with a new monster that requires new forms of struggle.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New Monster

If it is true that the era of imperialism is over and that the recent failures of US unilateralist strategies demonstrate this fact, this is not necessarily cause for celebration. It does not mean the end of domination or exploitation but signals instead the passage from one form of power to another. If it's not imperialism, though, what is this new monster?

Antonio Negri and I proposed before 9/11 and the "war on terror" that the coming global order should be understood in terms not of imperialism but Empire, by which we understand a wide network of collaborating powers, including the dominant nation-states, supranational institutions like the IMF and World Bank, the major corporations, some of the major NGOs and others. This, we claim, is the emerging power that will maintain global hierarchies, keeping the rich rich and the poor poor, keeping power in the hands of the few. Such an Empire is the political form adequate to the interests of global capital rather than simply the capital of one nation or another. Partly for that reason, for being more purely capitalist, its forms of domination, social segregation and geographical divisions of the globe will be even more severe, its structures of poverty more brutal and its forms of exploitation more degrading.

In light of recent events this notion of an emerging Empire gives us, now more than ever, a framework for understanding why imperialism cannot succeed today, and specifically why the Bush Administration's unilateral projects in Iraq and elsewhere are failures. No single power can be successful in this situation without paying attention to the internal dynamics of Empire and gaining the collaboration of others—not only the other dominant nation-states but also the subordinated nation-states, the supranational institutions, corporations and so forth. This does not suggest that the various collaborating powers in this network are equal. The United States undoubtedly is and will remain for the near future the dominant nation-state of the network. It simply means that no power can go it alone.

The current US strategy in dealing with Iran is one sign that some sectors of the Administration have glimpsed this new reality. At least temporarily, the Bush Administration has abandoned its unilateralist stance on Iran and is collaborating with Europe, Russia and China. This is an experiment, of course, that may quickly be reversed, but it indicates that in the face of past failures, Washington feels the pressure to develop wider collaborations to achieve a stable global order.

The internal dynamic of Empire is analogous to a collaboration between a monarch and a group of aristocrats. The monarch in most cases today is the US government, but in some cases it's the IMF or other powers that act monarchically. The aristocratic powers in this analogy include the other nation-states of various levels, the corporations, the supranational institutions and various nongovernmental organizations. This analogy helps, first, to draw attention to the hierarchies among these powers in the ruling structure and, second, highlights the fact that the monarch cannot act unilaterally, depending constantly on the aristocrats, among other things, to finance its wars and pay its debts. The Bush Administration thought it could dictate the terms of global order unilaterally, but it was a monarch who failed to gain the support of the aristocrats and was thus doomed to failure.

This analogy also helps us understand the progressive strategic role of some of the regional alliances of nation-states that have emerged in recent years. The aristocrats can in many ways, especially when they band together, dictate to the monarch the terms of the imperial arrangement. One of the most visible and successful operations of this sort was carried out by the so-called Group of 22, led by Brazil, which blocked the 2003 WTO meetings in Cancún. The recent coalition of Latin American states that blocked the FTAA is another example. Indeed, the "Bolivarian" strategy of the Venezuelan government seeks to capitalize on the election of progressive governments in so many countries in Latin America by forming partnerships from Uruguay and Argentina to Brazil and Bolivia, and perhaps in the future also with Ecuador or Mexico. Acting alone, of course, none of these nation-states has the power to confront the United States or the IMF and transform the imperial arrangement. Acting together, emphasizing their strategic interdependence, they clearly can.

Autonomy and Interdependence

What good is it, though, if some group of aristocratic forces, some alliance of nation-states, succeeds in transforming the imperial arrangement in its favor? Such aristocratic struggles, even when they are progressive, should never be mistaken for democracy. Empire, however it is arranged internally, is still a form of domination and exploitation, still a structure to facilitate and guarantee the profits of global capital. Why should we care, then, about these contests between monarchs and aristocrats? One answer, to continue with our analogy, is that when confronting the monarch, aristocracies can have significant progressive effects for the entire global order and for their own countries. Some governments that defy the neoliberal order and US command—Venezuela, again, is a good example—bring enormous benefits to their populations in literacy, healthcare, economic opportunity and other essential domains. In the short term these benefits may be the most important element. But if we take a longer view we can see, as a second answer, that such aristocratic forces are important insofar as, by changing the imperial arrangement, they favor the increase of the power of the multitude. The ultimate significance of progressive alliances of subordinated nation-states, in other words, will be realized only to the extent that they facilitate the eventual destruction of Empire (including the aristocracies themselves) and allow the multitude to create a democracy from below.

When I say "increase of the power of the multitude," I mean something in line with the long history of political projects to transfer power to the people. Using the concept of multitude, however, does indicate some important differences. First of all, "the people" refers to a unitary whole that inevitably obscures or excludes portions of the population. Multitude highlights, instead, the real and important differences among us in terms of gender, race, culture, geography, economic position and other factors. Recognizing such differences need not lead to fragmentation and weakness but rather can pose the conditions for strategies of interdependence and cooperation. Second, "the people" designates a national identity: the Algerian or the Mexican or the Indian people. And indeed the primary and most powerful response to imperialism throughout the centuries was national

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

liberation—that is, the liberation of the national people. One consequence of the fact that imperialism is over is that the era of national liberation has come to an end. Multitude helps us conceive of a nonnational liberation—a form of struggle both below and beyond the national people to create regional and even global movements of interdependence.

The aims of many of the most creative social movements of recent years correspond to these qualities highlighted by the concept of the multitude. Consider, just for a few examples, the social movements that have emerged so powerfully in Latin America. The Zapatista movement in Mexico, which has served as a reference point for the continent and beyond, experiments with local autonomy in relation to regional and even global networks of interdependence. The Zapatistas manage to confront the most local questions of racism and poverty while taking aim at NAFTA and other instruments of international and global capital. Similarly, in the great Bolivian social battles since 2000 over water and gas—which while challenging foreign corporations and rigid structures of racial exclusion swept a new government to power—the different social groups in struggle remain autonomous while establishing powerful networks of interdependence. Álvaro García Linera, the vice president, calls these horizontal coordinations of indigenous communities with various sectors of labor the "multitude form." Movements focused more directly on labor and property issues also share these qualities and emphasize that autonomy requires equality. One of the great contributions, for instance, of the Unemployed Workers Movement in Argentina is its critique of the political hierarchy between waged and unwaged workers, between the employed and the unemployed. The Landless Workers Movement in Brazil also struggles for the inclusion and political equality of those poor agriculturalists who have long been excluded from or subordinated in national politics. These are the kinds of multitudinous experiments that a new generation of social movements has been inventing in Latin America and throughout the world.

We should recognize, first of all, that these movements are not really designed to confront US imperialism, as liberation struggles were in decades past, or simply to forge and liberate a national people or reinforce national sovereignty. Instead, their guiding principles are autonomy and interdependence, below and above the national border. (From the perspective of these movements, then, and with a view to the long run, one might say that the most powerful and novel element in Venezuela's Bolivarian revolution is not the anti-imperialist stance of the president but the development of autonomous movements in the barrios of Caracas—and I imagine Hugo Chávez himself would agree with this assessment.) Second, these are all anti-capitalist movements but ones that reason not in terms of national capital or US capital but in global perspective. They do not ignore the power of the United States but neither do they overestimate it: It is one element in the network of imperial power, a monarch constrained by various aristocrats. Finally, although many of these movements were instrumental in bringing progressive governments to power and benefit from their actions, none of them are willing to exchange their dreams for the promise of a just nation. In fact, the relation between progressive governments and powerful social movements is one of the most complex and urgent issues in Latin America today.

Movements like these have taken the baton from the national liberation movements of the past and carry today the hope for democracy. They clearly realize, though, that anti-imperialist methods are no longer adequate for the fight. There is a new monster out there, and we need new strategies and new weapons to confront it. ■

LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)
is simply uninformed. For example, the airline industry and public sector workers—where Teamsters have a powerful presence and have organized thousands of workers recently—are not covered by the NLRB and are not reflected in numbers the author cites.

Jim Hoffa had the vision to convene the first-ever special convention in 2002 to insure that the Teamsters had the resources to organize new members. As a result, there are now more than 400 professional organizers in the union. We have trained thousands of rank-and-file Teamsters who are participating in our campaigns. Our members get it: In a recent poll, they ranked organizing as our number-one priority.

The Hoffa administration is determined to mount major strategic campaigns in core Teamster industries regardless of our critics. Recently, hundreds of school bus drivers in Iowa City and Baltimore fought courageously and won Teamster representation. These men and women demanded respect for themselves and safe conditions for the children they transport. It was a tough fight, especially because corporate management had found an accomplice in its vicious campaign to confuse and demoralize the workers: TDU and its website.

Johnson's commentary mimics the union-busters' approach: Find an atypical bad example or statistic, obscure the truth and destroy people's hopes that progress can be made.

JEFF FARMER
Director of organizing
International Brotherhood of Teamsters

JOHNSON REPLIES

Brooklyn, NY

■ Since he doesn't offer any corrections or dispute any of my statistics, I'm not sure which "atypical bad example or statistic" Jeff Farmer is talking about. Contrary to his claims, I did not rely solely on NLRB statistics to document the many failures of Teamsters president James Hoffa's leadership. I used the Teamsters' own membership reports to the Labor Department to document the union's loss of 150,000 members since Hoffa's 2001 re-election.

Unable to find fault with the facts of the case, Farmer then claims that my article "mimics the unionbusters' approach." To Farmer, apparently, a critique of Hoffa is equivalent to an attack on organized labor. The many rank-and-file Teamsters I spoke with who are frustrated and disgusted with Hoffa's leadership see things a bit differently. To them, the Hoffa administration's abysmal record (not just on organizing new members but on winning good contracts, rooting out internal corruption and developing rank-and-file leaders) reflects one of organized labor's biggest problems—corrupt, incompetent leaders unaccountable to their members. Farmer's attacks on rank-and-file Teamster reformers and those who support them won't change that fact.

WILLIAM JOHNSON
Labor Notes

CORRECTION—NOT FIRST, ONLY

■ In Ruth Conniff's June 26 "How to Build a Farm Team," Sheila Stubbs is not the *first* (but she is currently the *only*) African-American to serve on the Dane County board in Wisconsin.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

(Continued From Page 6)

to the environmental regulators on that judgment.

Kennedy's vote was also crucial in *Hamdan*. That case involved a challenge by Salim Hamdan, Osama bin Laden's bodyguard and driver, to the military tribunals Bush had created by executive order in November 2001 for trying foreign nationals accused of terrorism and war crimes. Under the rules set forth by the President, defendants could be tried, convicted and sentenced to death on the basis of hearsay evidence, testimony obtained through coercive methods or secret evidence that neither the defendant nor his civilian lawyer had any opportunity to confront. In addition, the Defense Secretary or his designate, instead of the presiding judge, was empowered to intervene in ongoing trials and decide issues.

After the Court agreed to hear the case, Congress passed a statute that appeared designed to strip the Court of its jurisdiction. But five members of the Court were undeterred. They ruled that the statute did not apply to pending cases and went on to decide that the President's military tribunals violated military law and the Geneva Conventions. The Court ruled that the Uniform Code of Military Justice requires that military tribunal procedures not vary from those of the courts-martial we use to try our own soldiers, unless court-martial procedures would be "impracticable"—and that the Administration had made no such showing.

More important, the Court declared that Congress had required the tribunals to adhere to the laws of war, and that the tribunals violated one such law in particular, Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions. Common Article 3 requires that detainees in conflicts "not of an international character" be tried by "a regularly constituted court affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognized as indispensable by civilized peoples." The Administration had insisted that this rule did not apply to the conflict with Al Qaeda, because it was an "international" conflict. But in its most significant holding, the Court rejected that interpretation, ruling that the reference to conflicts "not of an international character" was intended to cover all conflicts not between sovereign nations, literally not inter-national. Since Al Qaeda is not a nation, our conflict with it is "not of an international character," and the conflict is therefore covered by Common Article 3. On July 11 the Administration acknowledged that the Court's ruling means that the Geneva Conventions govern its treatment of Al Qaeda detainees, but in typical fashion it insisted that this would require no change in its practices or policies.

In fact, the Court's Geneva Conventions ruling is significant for three reasons. First, it means that were Congress to enact a statute "overturning" *Hamdan* by authorizing the very procedures the Court found unauthorized, it would be sanctioning a violation of the laws of war. Second, Common Article 3 also bars any "humiliating and degrading treatment" of detainees, and any violation of Common Article 3 is a felony under the War Crimes Act. Thus, even though torture was not directly at issue in *Hamdan*, the decision in effect authoritatively bars any inhumane treatment of detainees—which would include most of what the CIA and Army interrogators have routinely been inflicting on Al Qaeda suspects. Third, and most important, the decision proclaims that the "war on terror" is not a law-free zone open to whatever rules ingenious White House lawyers can devise under cover of secrecy but must be subject to the international standards that govern all wars. In short, it refutes American exceptionalism.

All of this would not have been possible without Justice Kennedy's vote. But the voting alignment in *Hamdan* and many other important cases this term only illustrates how close the Court is to veering off in an extreme rightward direction. Its two oldest members are Justice Stevens, at 86, and Justice Ginsburg, at 73. If either retires while a Republican President is in office, the Court will likely be reliably conservative for several decades at least. On issues such as affirmative action, gay rights, states' rights, abortion, workers' rights, separation of powers and equal protection of the laws, the Court could become a rubber stamp for right-wing policies and an obstacle to progressive legislative reform—much as it was until midway through the New Deal. Perhaps never before has the power to appoint the next Justice been so potentially determinative of the course of constitutional law.

Meanwhile, the division on the Court will undoubtedly continue next year. The Court has already agreed to take up cases involving so-called "partial birth" abortion laws and efforts to maintain racial balance in public schools. On both issues Justice Kennedy has previously sided with conservatives. While he was in the majority that refused to overrule *Roe v. Wade* in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, he dissented passionately from the Court's application of *Casey* to strike down a "partial birth" abortion statute in 2000. And he has been an outspoken critic of affirmative action, voting to declare it unconstitutional in the University of Michigan's affirmative action cases just three years ago. This time next year, in other words, we may not be celebrating.

DAVID COLE

David Cole (cole@law.georgetown.edu), The Nation's legal affairs correspondent, is a professor at Georgetown University Law Center.

DAVID 'DUFF' DRETZIN

David "Duff" Dretzin, who served for more than a decade as *The Nation*'s labor lawyer, died a few weeks ago after a stroke-caused accident while driving to New York City from the country community he helped found in Hillsdale, New York, in the early 1970s. Duff had a big heart, a social conscience and a keen sense of humor. He produced the anti–Vietnam War play *MacBird*. He was, for the past thirteen years, the pro bono counsel for Billy Kuenzel, an inhabitant of Alabama's death row, on whose innocence he insisted. And he loved to tell the story of how he survived a McCarthy era military investigation into his loyalty where one of the charges against him was that he had "a close and continuing association" with his mother. We miss you, Duff.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS

Legal Weapon

MARTHA NUSSBAUM

ARE WOMEN HUMAN? And Other International Dialogues.
By Catharine A. MacKinnon.
Harvard. 419 pp. $35.

Inequality on the basis of sex is a pervasive reality of women's lives all over the world. So is sex-related violence. Rape by strangers and acquaintances, rape within marriage, domestic violence, trafficking into sex work, the abuse of women and girls in the pornography industry: In all these ways, argues Catharine MacKinnon, women suffer aggression and exploitation, "because we are women, systemically and systematically." Although violence against women is certain to be underreported and undercounted, data still show a tremendous amount of it everywhere. (Cross-cultural studies cited by MacKinnon show that rates of violent domestic abuse are similar in the United States, Japan and India.) As a 1989 United Nations report summarizes, "The risk of violence and violation within the household is one thing women, irrespective of their social position, creed, colour or culture, share in common." So, too, is vulnerability to rape in wartime—the well-documented mass rapes of Bosnian women being just one recent example of an appalling reality that has characterized most armed conflicts.

Despite the prevalence of these crimes, they have not been well addressed under international human rights law—if, indeed, they have been addressed at all. Typically, there has been what MacKinnon calls a "double-edged denial": The abuse is considered either too extraordinary to be believed or too ordinary to constitute a major human rights violation. Or, as MacKinnon says, "If it's happening, it's not so bad, and if it's really bad, it isn't happening." Until recently, abuses like rape and sexual torture lacked good human rights standards because human rights norms were typically devised by men thinking about men's lives. In other words, "If men don't need it, women don't get it." What this lack of recognition has meant is that women have not yet become fully human in the legal and political sense, bearers of equal, enforceable human rights.

In recent years there has been progress. International agreements, above all the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), have given salience to sex-specific abuses such as domestic violence and sexual harassment. Creative use of existing laws has made it possible, in some instances, for women to win against their abusers in cases that cross national boundary lines. Meanwhile, women organizing through the informal social networks of nongovernmental organizations and the international women's movement have pressured states and the international community to act on issues like trafficking and rape in war. Indeed, as MacKinnon notes, "Women's resistance to their status and treatment" is now "the cutting edge of change in international human rights."

Thanks in part to MacKinnon, women's resistance to oppression is the cutting edge of international human rights activism.

MacKinnon herself has played a moving role in these developments. Because she is so well known as a feminist thinker, it is easy to forget that MacKinnon is also a lawyer, and a very shrewd one. Representing a group of women who had been raped during the Bosnian conflict, in a case called *Kadic v. Karadzic*, she employed a little-known American law, the Alien Tort Claims Act, which allows plaintiffs to file civil suits against foreign citizens in US courts, provided that the defendant can be served on US soil. Previous users of the statute had

Martha Nussbaum, a professor of philosophy and law at the University of Chicago, is the author of numerous books, most recently Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership *(Harvard).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been isolated individuals. While rejecting a class-action approach on the grounds that it would impose plaintiff status on women who might be unwilling to join in—the process, she argues, must be "accountable, personal, and responsive"—MacKinnon brought suit against Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic on behalf of a specific group of female clients, seeking damages for injuries consisting in "genocidal sexual atrocities perpetrated as a result of [his] policy of ethnic cleansing." Damages were sought for the named individuals, as was an injunction that Karadzic order the genocide to stop. On August 10, 2000, a jury in the State of New York awarded the plaintiffs a total of $745 million in compensatory and punitive damages and a permanent injunction. For her role in this landmark prosecution, MacKinnon was honored as one of the finalists in the 2001 "trial lawyer of the year" competition by the Trial Lawyers for Public Justice.

Now MacKinnon has gathered the speeches and articles that she has delivered over the past twenty years on sex equality and international law. The result is a sparkling book, perhaps her finest. Unsettling in the best sort of way, *Are Women Human?* shows her to be not only a prodigiously creative feminist thinker who can see the world from a fresh angle like nobody else (and I mean the angle of reality, as opposed to the usual one of half-reality) but also one of our most creative thinkers about international law. As elsewhere in MacKinnon's work, we find plenty of trenchant and eloquent writing; but we also find more systematic analysis and more extensive scholarship than we sometimes get, and the book is the richer for it.

MacKinnon's central theme, repeatedly and convincingly mined, is the hypocrisy of the international system when it faces up to some crimes against humanity but fails to confront similar harms when they happen to women, often on a daily basis. There is a category of torture, and we think we know how to define it. We think we know what it does: It uses violence to control and intimidate. And yet when violence is used to control and intimidate women "in homes in Nebraska...rather than prison cells in Chile," we don't call it torture, and we somehow think it is not the same thing. Torture in Chile is not explained away as the work of isolated sick individuals. We know it is political, and we can see how systemic it often is. When violence happens to women in Nebraska, we say, Oh well, that was only some sicko, and men really aren't like that. Well, given the numbers, shouldn't we ask more questions about that?

Again, we have a concept of war, and we think we know what war is: People get maimed and killed fighting over land and power. And yet when women get raped and beaten up by men who want to control them, we pay little heed. "It is hard to avoid the impression that what is called war is what men make against each other, and what they do to women is called everyday life."

As in her prior work, MacKinnon is caustic about the damage done by the traditional liberal distinction between a "public sphere" and a "private sphere," a distinction that insulates marital rape and domestic violence from public view and makes people think it isn't political. "Why isn't this political?... The fact that you may know your assailant does not mean that your membership in a group chosen for violation is irrelevant to your abuse. It is still systematic and group-based. It...is defined by the distribution of power in society."

In the two most deeply troubling articles in the collection, "Genocide's Sexuality" and "Women's September 11th," MacKinnon examines the internationally accepted definitions of genocide and terrorism, and argues that many acts of men against women meet one or both of these definitions. As defined under the UN convention on genocide, genocide is either killing or inflicting serious bodily or mental harm on members of a group, with intent to destroy that group either entirely or in part. The groups mentioned are "national, ethnical, racial, or religious" groups: So in that sense violence against women clearly doesn't qualify. On other grounds, however, one could argue that a great part of violence against women does involve a similar infliction of "serious harm" on women because they are women, and its aim can be said to be to destroy "in part"—for "destroy," if mental harm is sufficient for genocide, must mean not "kill" but "remove from the ranks of the fully human"—something that happens to women all the time.

Examining a wide range of cases in which rape occurs in the context of a recognized genocide (including both the Holocaust and the Bosnian conflict), MacKinnon argues that these rapes are not sui generis. Similar violations take place all the time. "In this light, what rape does in genocide is what it does the rest of the time: ruins identity, marks who you are as less, as damaged, hence devastates community, the glue of group." It's convenient not to notice a genocide this dispersed, this multinational, this perpetual. MacKinnon summons the international community to notice, and to grapple with the question of how to dignify violence against women as an atrocity worthy of the name. "If women were seen to be a group, capable of destruction as such, the term genocide would be apt for violence against women as well. But that is a big if."

Terrorism, she believes, is another concept that needs to be recast with women's lives in view. In confronting the reality of terrorism after 9/11, the international community had to find ways to conceptualize and condemn a new sort of organized violence that didn't fit previous definitions of war. It did so—but, again, it didn't notice the implications of the new concepts for the lives of women. Terrorism is unlike war in that the perpetrators are non-state actors who are not combatants in a formally declared conflict. "Common elements include premeditation rather than spontaneity, ideological and political rather than criminal motive, civilian targets (sometimes termed 'innocents'), and subnational group agents. What about violence against women fails to qualify?" A lot of this violence, including gang rapes and much stalking and sexual harassment, and most trafficking, is planned. Its victims are "innocents"—aren't they? And surely the status of women in relation to men is "political"—isn't it? And once again, the motives of men are not just those of the isolated criminal "sicko"; they are often quite fully ideological, expressing a view that women are there for men's use and control. What the precise consequences of the recognition of these similarities should be for law are not exhaustively developed. But one thing is very clear: States that make a big deal of saying that they will do this or that to states that "harbor terrorists" and yet fail to have the slightest interest in states that don't enforce laws forbidding violence against women are hypocritical. MacKinnon's aim is to expose this hypocrisy and get people involved in seeking creative legal remedies, acknowledging, as they do so, that women are full-fledged human beings deserving of the dignity of legal protections: "When will women be human? When?"

Throughout the book MacKinnon reasserts the conception of equality that has been, so far, her most influential contribution to legal thought. Similarity of treatment, she has argued throughout her work, is not sufficient for the true "equal protection" of the laws. Mere formal equality often masks, or even reinforces, underlying inequalities. We need to think, instead, of the idea of freedom from hierarchy, from

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sunday:
Cocktails with Molly Ivins

Monday:
Q&A with Katha Pollitt and Jim Hightower

Tuesday Night:
At the blackjack table with Victor Navasky

Wednesday:
Screening a new film with Jane Smiley

Thursday:
Dinner with Katrina vanden Heuvel

What's going on here?
Did you die and go to heaven?

Nope.
You're on The Nation Magazine's Caribbean Cruise!

Nearly Sold Out

NINTH ANNUAL SEMINAR CRUISE TO THE CARIBBEAN - DECEMBER 16-23

JOIN THE NATION MAGAZINE FOR A WEEK OF STIMULATING DISCUSSION, VIGOROUS DEBATE AND RELAXATION ABOARD HOLLAND AMERICA'S MS ZUIDERDAM.

SOME OF YOUR SHIPMATES:

TO BOOK YOUR CRUISE OR FOR MORE INFO:
WWW.NATIONCRUISE.COM
OR (888) 833-4339

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

domination and subordination. This insight had been influential in the law of race prior to MacKinnon's work. Thus, laws against miscegenation were defended on the ground that they treated blacks and whites similarly: Blacks can't marry whites, and whites can't marry blacks. The Supreme Court, however, invalidated those laws under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, saying that they upheld a regime of "White Supremacy." MacKinnon makes a parallel move in the area of sex: To deny women benefits that they need in order to function as equals (medical pregnancy benefits, for example) is to violate equal protection, even when the treatment of men and women is similar (no men get pregnancy benefits, and no women get them either). This insight has shaped legal thinking about sex equality, sexual harassment and the nature of the equal protection clause. It is widely agreed, for example, that MacKinnon's *Sexual Harassment of Working Women* is one of the most influential books by a legal academic, in terms of its actual influence on the law. The present book helpfully explains her equality theory again and shows how it operates in a range of international contexts.

While advancing ambitious theoretical arguments, *Are Women Human?* also shows MacKinnon's wide range as a comparative legal scholar, as she discusses tensions between Canada's Charter, which guarantees substantive sex equality, and the Meech Lake Accord, a failed set of amendments that offered protections for regional group rights; as she addresses an audience in India about related tensions between India's religious systems of "personal law" and its constitutional guarantee of sex equality; as she investigates the role played by rape and forced prostitution in the Holocaust; and as she reflects on the role that rape played in the genocide in Bosnia, drawing upon her clients' wrenching narratives of violation. The book also contains valuable insights at the meta level, particularly on feminist theory and its relationship to political reality. In "Theory Is Not a Luxury," MacKinnon addresses critics who doubt that "theory" provides anything useful for marginalized people. Some are uncomprehending men, for whom calling something "only a theory" is a way of devaluing it in contrast to (their view of) "reality." Some are women, who see theory as a male tool and would urge feminists to eschew it. Feminism needs theory, argues MacKinnon, because theory shows the world in a new way, using method to make it "accessible to understanding and change." Theory is not an enemy but a necessary ally of the "reality of women's lives," because that reality is frequently invisible until theory brings its salient features into prominence.

Unlike some types of theory, feminist theory, she argues, is bottom-up: It starts from the silenced reality of women's lives. Its "development as theory is impelled by the realities of women's situation." Its goal is to make that situation more visible, more comprehensible—not as a mere ideological construct but as what was, and is, happening. "As it turned out, once rescued from flagrant invisibility, women's realities could often be documented in other ways, and nearly anyone proved able to understand them with a little sympathetic application.... What we said was credible because it was real."

Because feminist theory, in her understanding, is committed to reality, MacKinnon is deeply troubled by some of the excesses of academic postmodernism. One of the gems in the collection is an essay called "Postmodernism and Human Rights," which ought to be required reading for all undergraduates and graduate students in the humanities. Here MacKinnon makes points that have also been made by other left-wing critics of postmodernism, notably Noam Chomsky and Tanika Sarkar, but she makes them with a devastating wit that is all her own. To say that gender is a social construct, she argues, is hardly to say that it is not there. "It means that it is there, in society, where we live." To say that feminists wrongly "essentialize" by ascribing common properties to women is to raise

> an empirical rather than a conceptual question. Do characteristics exist that can be...found in the reality of...the status of women across time and place...? Women report the existence of such regularities: sex inequality, for one. It is either there or it is not.... Once it has been found to exist, to say it isn't there, show it isn't there—show, for example, that female genital mutilation is a collective delusion or harmless or a practice of equality.... What the postmodernists seem to be saying here is that they don't like the idea that women are unequal everywhere. Well, we don't like it either.

As for postmodernism's critique of universality and binary oppositions, she has this to say:

> The postmodern attack on universality also proves a bit too much. Inconveniently, the fact of death *is* a universal—approaching 100 percent.... Much to the embarrassment of the anti-essentialists, who prefer flights of fancy to gritty realities, life and death is even basically a binary distinction—and not a very nuanced one either, especially from the dead side of the line, at least when seen from the standpoint of the living, that is, as far as we know. And it is even biological at some point. So the idea that there is nothing essential, in the sense that there are no human universals, is dogma. Ask most anyone who is going to be shot at dawn.

MacKinnon's attack has no particular target or targets, although there are footnote references to several specific postmodern feminists. Instead, she issues a cheerful invitation: "Far from attempting to tar them all with this brush, I invite anyone to disidentify with what I describe and to stop doing it any time."

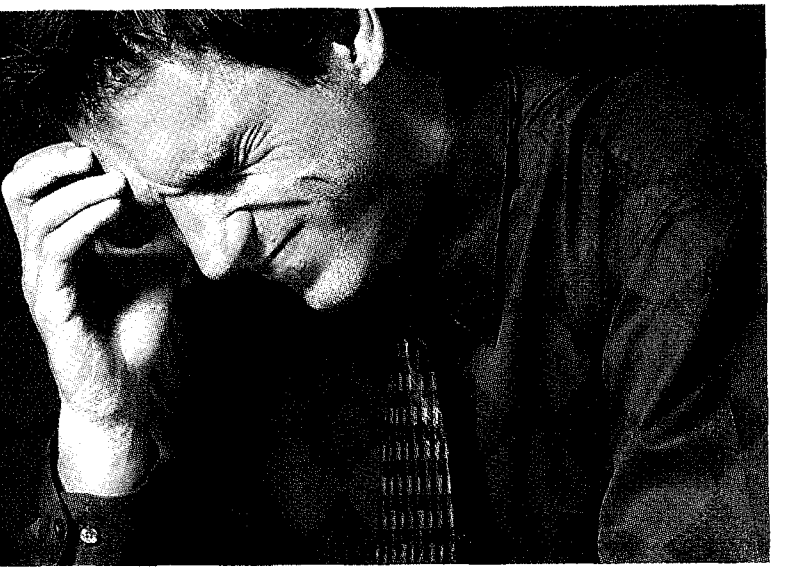
Are Women Human? is a major contribution both to feminism and to international law. About some of MacKinnon's specific claims, however, I have doubts. I wonder, for example, whether her expressed preference for civil over criminal law as a vehicle for pressing sex-equality claims is not unduly influenced by the particular success of her strategy in *Kadic v. Karadzic*. She is certainly right that criminal laws are frequently underenforced, and that when criminal prosecution is impossible, a civil suit may be a victim's only way of attaining justice. But that doesn't show that civil remedies ought in general to be "favored"; and surely women's lives will not improve much unless and until the criminal law in the place where they live has become both adequate in its content (defining rape appropriately, recognizing that it can take place in marriage, etc.) and adequately enforced.

I have a more serious worry about MacKinnon's expressed preference for the international realm, in contrast to the state realm, as a place where women should focus their energies. It is certainly true that the abuses suffered by women are depressingly similar from one nation to another, and that the international women's movement has therefore been able to identify similar problems in many nations and to jumpstart the search for creative solutions. It is also true that when states are doing nothing, women can goad them into action by making a big noise internationally, and that this has happened, often helpfully. Finally, it is true that some specific problems require international solutions. Trafficking, for example, as MacKinnon points out, will not stop without international sanc-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sometimes the simplest technology change can become the most beneficial.

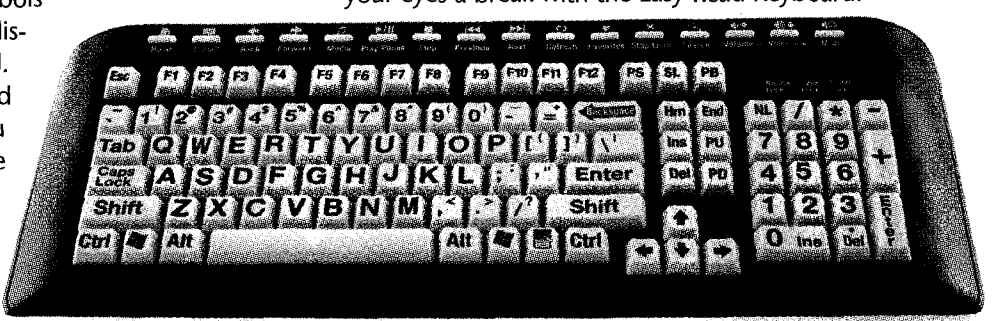
The keys to better vision



If you're tired of squinting while constantly hitting the wrong keys on your computer, we have the keyboard that will clearly help change the way you type.

It's about time! How often do you catch yourself squinting at the computer keyboard, becoming frustrated at hitting the wrong keys or giving incorrect commands? Whether you're an accomplished typist or just "peck" at the keys, you still need to be able to distinguish small letters, symbols and numbers, usually on an indistinct, neutral beige background. Finally, we have the easy-to-read keyboard that will convince you to abandon once and for all the dull, hard-to-read, generic keyboards that are standard with most of today's computers.

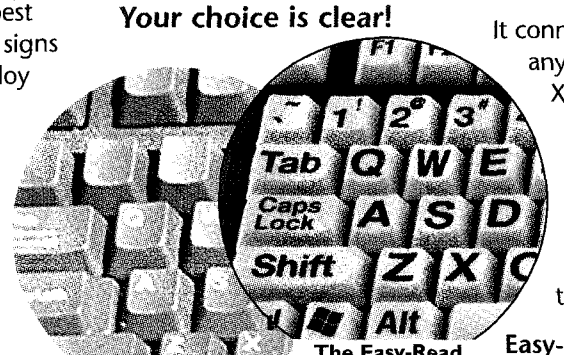
wants to decrease their typing and input errors and increase their speed and accuracy. Computers are now pervasive in almost every aspect of our everyday routines, and for many, they're a vital lifeline for communication and information. Make your life easier and give your eyes a break with the Easy-Read Keyboard.



Stop fumbling with computer keys that are small and indistinct. These keycaps are large and extremely easy to read.

Be more productive and less frustrated. Black print on a yellow background has been proven to offer the best visibility. Most safety signs and equipment employ this highly visible combination. So we borrowed this same idea to create a standard-size keyboard using extra-large, black-print keycaps and high-contrast optic-yellow color. Its bold, easy-to-read design and friendly-to-the-touch functionality make it perfect for people with common vision impairments like farsightedness, and even may help those who suffer from more serious conditions such as macular degeneration, glaucoma, or cataracts. In fact, the Easy-Read Keyboard is great for anyone from preschooler to grandparent who

Your choice is clear!



Traditional keyboard with low visibility

The Easy-Read Keyboard with optic yellow keys and symbols 4x larger

It connects to either the PS2 port or the USB port on any computer that runs Microsoft 98, 2000, ME or XP. Dimensions: 11/2" x 193/4" x 81/4"

Start hitting the right keys...order today! Stop wasting time with the frustration of using a bland, blurry keyboard. Try the Easy-Read Keyboard for 30 days. If you are not thrilled, send it back for a full refund of the purchase price.

Easy-Read Keyboard—$49.95

Call to order toll-free, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.

800-888-7630

Promotional Code ERK119-01
Please mention this when you call.

NEXTTEN

14101 Southcross Drive W.,
Dept. ERK119-01
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337

www.nextten.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions, because otherwise the traffickers will just keep moving on from states that have adopted strong laws to states that have weaker laws or that don't enforce the ones they have. Much the same is true of labor accords, as she mentions: Here, too, a solution has to be transnational because piecemeal solutions just make the problem move elsewhere.

None of this, however, adds up to saying that the state is not a crucially important place for sex equality to be enacted and realized. MacKinnon sometimes comes quite close to saying that the modern state is a sexist relic that has had its day. Surely, however, the state is the largest unit we know of so far that is decently accountable to people's voices, and thus it is bound to be of critical importance for women seeking to make their voices heard. I think there is also a moral argument for the state: It is a unit that expresses the human choice to live together under laws of one's own choosing. Once again, it is the largest unit we yet know that expresses this fundamental human aspiration. A world state, should it exist, would either be too dictatorial, imposing on Indians and South Africans and Canadians alike a Constitution that each group might like to determine and fine-tune separately, or else it would be little more than a charade, as some international agreements are today.

MacKinnon is a lawyer, and her imagination has always been galvanized by the experiences of women in specific legal situations, whether they are her formal clients or not: the plaintiffs in the landmark sexual harassment cases, the victims of abuse in the pornography industry whose testimony is gathered in her book *In Harm's Way*, the Bosnian women she recently represented. I think that this powerful empathy explains why she is impatient with the slow work of Constitution-making and Constitution-changing that is required for sex equality at the state level, and drawn to the more personal and informal encounters among women in the international women's movement. If the state has in many ways been deaf to women's voices, however, why should she believe that—without changing the nature of each liberal state, one by one—women can get good results at the international level? Surely the two levels need to work in tandem, informing each other. And both need to be informed by grassroots work at the most local level, as India's democracy has been powerfully influenced recently by the insights and achievements of women who now, by constitutional amendment, hold one-third of the seats in the *panchayats*, or local village councils.

MacKinnon is clearly correct, however, that change will not take place through state-based laws and institutions alone, and that all levels of civil society must be enlisted to play their part. "Opposing violence against women teaches," she concludes, "that peace-building is an active social process, not a mere lack of overt fighting, far less a document-signing ritual of contract or an arm-twisting exercise to get the parties in bed together in the silence of power having prevailed." By casting herself as a peace-builder, MacKinnon issues a pointed challenge to her adversaries, who boringly stereotype her as a fierce amazon on the warpath against male liberties. This book is indeed fierce, unrelenting in its naming of abuse and hypocrisy. In a world where women pervasively suffer violence, however, it takes the fierceness of good theory to move us a little closer to peace. ■

Empire as a Way of Life

LINDA COLLEY

THE SCANDAL OF EMPIRE: India and the Creation of Imperial Britain.
By Nicholas B. Dirks. Harvard. 389 pp. $27.95.

THE RULING CASTE: Imperial Lives in the Victorian Raj.
By David Gilmour. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 381 pp. $27.

There are, as Eric Hobsbawm has written, "winners of history," peoples, groupings and cadres of writers and scholars who manage to obtain widespread acceptance of their particular versions of the past. Such victories are sometimes permanent. The mainly white settlers and soldiers who swept across the American West in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for instance, substantially obliterated not only multitudes of Native Americans but also these peoples' perspectives on what was happening in their continent. Empires that unravel and nations in decline, however, usually find that their specific historiographies start coming under pressure as well. At the beginning of the twentieth century Theodore Roosevelt, that avid American imperialist, wrote that the British had done some "marvelous things" in their Indian empire, and most (though not all) Britons at that time, and many Indians (including Gandhi and Nehru), would have concurred. But since World War II, and the onset of decolonization and relentless European retreat, assessments of British imperialism in the subcontinent as elsewhere have become, rightly, far more searching, and more critical.

Among historians, this revisionism has taken many forms, but the most programmatic assault has come from postcolonialists. These form a broad and complex church, but most postcolonial scholars agree that the formerly colonized world possesses historical reasons to resent what happened to it; that various modes of reparation are due; and that although formal colonization has ceased, many malign consequences of it persist. Postcolonialists detect empire's legacy—or rather the legacy of the British and other European empires—not just in the racial divisions and in much of the economic inequities of the present but also in the knowledge traditionally purveyed by the Western academy. Consequently, they are deliberately and self-consciously iconoclastic. Balance is a "conceit," Nicholas Dirks insists in his new book, *The Scandal of Empire*. Since empire is "always a scandal," a practice no better than Fascism or slavery, there can and should be no balance in smiting the imperialist bias lurking in familiar accounts of the past as in so much else.

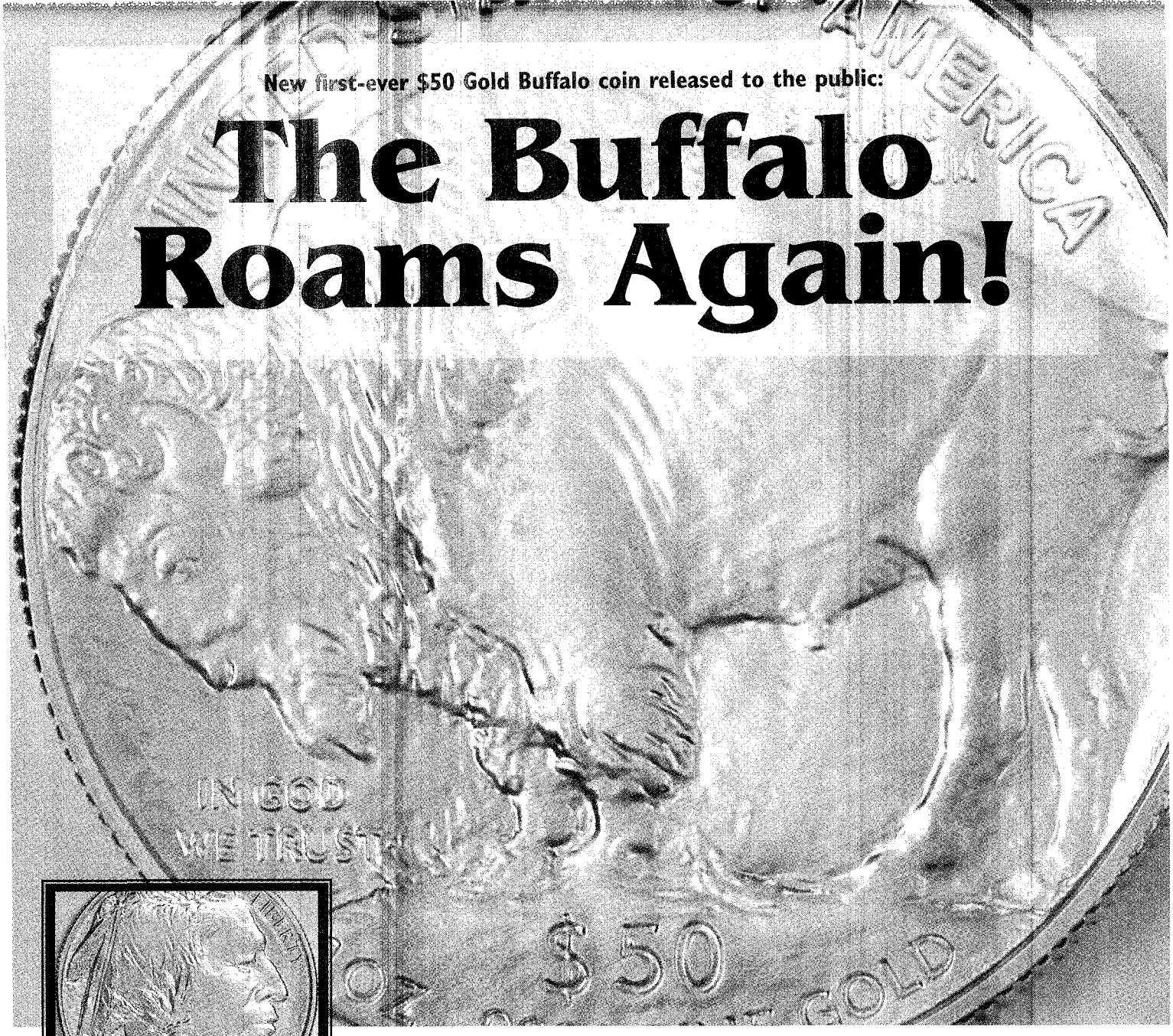
Dirks, a professor at Columbia University, is an anthropologist as well as a historian who has written several important books on southern India. Here, though, he focuses mainly on eighteenth-century Britain and on one of its most dramatic political controversies, the impeachment and trial of Warren Hastings, the Governor-General of Bengal from 1774 to 1784. As Dirks concedes, this has been "much written about," but he tells the story passionately and with great intelligence. In 1765, after a series of military victories over indigenous and French armies, the East India Company, a private paramilitary trading company linked with but independent of the British

Linda Colley is the Shelby M.C. Davis 1958 Professor of History at Princeton. Her most recent book is Captives: Britain, Empire, and the World, 1600–1850 *(Pantheon).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New first-ever $50 Gold Buffalo coin released to the public:

The Buffalo Roams Again!



U.S. Government Guaranteed:

These are the only 24K pure gold coins whose purity and gold content are fully guaranteed by the U.S. Government.

The beloved American Buffalo design makes its debut on the new special-release $50 gold coin from the U.S. Mint

For the first time ever, New York Mint is releasing to the public the brand new 2006 $50 Gold American Buffalo coin. This historic first-year issue minted in 99.99% (.9999) fine gold—the purest gold of any legal-tender coin—will **not** be offered directly to the public from the U.S. Mint. Now for a limited time, these historic Gem Brilliant Uncirculated coins will be made available to you through this special offer from New York Mint.

Nicknamed "Buffalo" for the rugged design of an American bison, this extremely popular design has stood the test of time since it was first released in 1913 on the "Buffalo" Nickel. Based upon this classic design and renowned for its "Wild West" artistry including an American Indian on the front, this hefty legal-tender $50 Gold Buffalo coin captures America's spirit of adventure in one full ounce of 24 karat pure gold.

HURRY! CALL TODAY

1 coin for $795 ea.
3 coins for $749 ea.
5 coins for $695 ea.

As Low As $695

New York Mint • Edina, MN

TOLL FREE:

1-800-642-9160

Extension 7509

Because quantities are limited for this special-release coin, we are accepting orders on a strict first-come, first-served basis. Call today to reserve your coins. Prices and availability subject to change. Your satisfaction is assured by our 30-day money-back guarantee. Sold-out orders will be promptly refunded.

©2006 New York Mint, Ltd. Not affiliated with the U.S. Government.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

state, secured from the Mughal emperor diwani rights—the power to raise revenue and administer justice—over Bengal. This led to an outburst of ferocious plundering and blundering, as the Company's 250-odd civilian officials sought simultaneously to learn how to govern a vast, rich, well-populated province and to enrich themselves from private trade, corruption and armed extortion. By the 1770s accounts of these gross abuses were circulating widely in Britain and attracting Parliament's attention; but it was the loss of the thirteen American colonies that really concentrated minds, and in particular the remarkable mind and rhetoric of Edmund Burke.

As Dirks remarks, Burke's target appeared superficially a strange one. Hastings was not notably corrupt. He was "a man of great intellect and sensitivity," eager to bring the Company's officials under much closer control, fluent in Urdu, deeply interested in Indo-Muslim culture, possessed of many indigenous friends and assistants, and much concerned that Bengal's inhabitants be governed in accordance with Hindu and Muslim traditions. None of this counted with Burke. Hastings was "the first man in rank, authority and station" and therefore ex officio "the captain-general in iniquity," and Burke urged his impeachment "in the name of Indian Millions, whom he has sacrificed to injustice."

Hastings's trial before the House of Lords began a year after his impeachment in 1787, and dragged on until 1795. Although he was acquitted, the ordeal left him a ruined man, and his reputation as a founder of "British India" did not recover until the Victorian era. However, argues Dirks, although Burke raged against "geographical morality" and urged the British upper house "to respect a people as respectable as yourself," and although the trial paraded the Company's excesses and evils, and seemed to establish a precedent that even the most powerful Britons overseas were answerable for injustice, its cumulative effect was to enhance imperial aggression, not to call it into question. Obloquy was focused on individuals, not empire itself. Indeed, rather like the abolition of Britain's participation in the slave trade in 1807, Hastings's trial tended to burnish imperialism's reputation by suggesting that politicians in London viewed their overseas subjects as "a sacred responsibility."

Much of this is correct, if not particularly novel. That the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were an era both of strident and complacent British nationalism and unparalleled imperial aggression is well known. It is the global context of all this that Dirks overlooks. This same period also witnessed

SHORT TAKES

STICK OUT YOUR TONGUE.

By Ma Jian. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 93 pp. $16.

When Ma Jian traveled to Tibet in 1985, he discovered that amid extreme poverty and hardship, "the hostility the Tibetans felt towards their Chinese occupiers" was palpable, and that "in the thin mountain air, it was hard to distinguish fact from fantasy." The stories that came out of that trip were published in the Beijing journal *People's Literature* and attracted the attention of the Chinese government, which had embarked on a crusade against "bourgeois liberalism." Ma was tarred as a dissident, and his work was denounced as "pornography"; his friends were interrogated; his editor was fired. But one year after the American publication of Ma's novel *The Noodle Maker*, those earlier stories are finally available in English as *Stick Out Your Tongue*. (*Red Dust*, Ma's story of a journey through China's remote provinces, won the Thomas Cook Travel Award in 2002.)

Stick Out Your Tongue is more earnest than *The Noodle Maker,* which displayed Ma's macabre sense of humor and his biting critique of human greed and hypocrisy. The stories are characteristically spare and keenly attentive to detail—particularly bodily detail. In "The Woman and the Blue Sky," Ma witnesses a "sky burial," in which the body of the deceased is carved up and fed to hawks and vultures. "Her right leg was soon reduced to bone," he writes. "With her belly squashed to the ground, sticky fluid began to trickle from between her thighs." Ma is a clear and careful observer of life on the steppe ("maggots wriggling through a pat of yak dung"); his prose is slow and hypnotic, but never mystical. He strives for that most radical of literary goals: to use characters not to express political beliefs, not to trumpet an ideology, but to communicate the living, breathing mess of real life, with all its contradictions. Ma does not write heroes or villains, just people struggling each day to survive.

—*Christine Smallwood*

EVERYMAN'S RULES FOR SCIENTIFIC LIVING.

By Carrie Tiffany. Scribner. 224 pp. $23.

This triumphant first novel by Australian author Carrie Tiffany, shortlisted for the Orange Prize, is set in 1930s rural Australia and tells the story of a doomed marriage between two high-minded idealists. Tiffany mixes fact with fiction as she recreates the Australian government's Better-Farming Train, a vehicle that traveled around the country bringing innovative agricultural techniques to small towns broken by war, depression and drought. Against this backdrop, she recounts the tale of Jean Finnegan, a seamstress, and Robert Pettergree, a soil scientist. Opposites certainly attract here: Robert is a radical ideologue with visions that recall the early principles of eugenics, while Jean is a pragmatist who believes in gradual change for the beleaguered towns they encounter. Following a peculiar seduction and courtship, they leave the train to get married: "a modern marriage." Using Robert's instruction manual "Everyman's Rules for Scientific Living" as an experimental guide to farming, they settle in the Mallee, a harsh and remote corner of the outback.

Their marriage fails, of course. From the start, scientific exactitude is usurped by the indifferent, untamable Australian land, and its unraveling underscores Tiffany's assertion that "you can't go living by rules when there's a heart involved." Tiffany, a former park ranger in the outback, writes with extraordinary sensitivity to rural life, attention to small detail and reverence for the vast Australian landscape. But perhaps the most affecting thing in *Everyman's Rules for Scientific Living* is Jean's sparse, quietly determined narrative, which reveals the hand of a first-rate novelist. Jean's voice, like her experiments, is fiercely controlled, yet it grows increasingly raw as she confronts the gap between how she wants to live and how she is living, understanding that "there is no point in focusing on the horizon, on what lies beyond what the eye can see; the truth of the matter is right here."

—*Katherine Ryder*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STUDENT WRITING CONTEST 2006 WINNERS

First Place:

"Project Corpus Callosum"

Sarah Stillman

Yale University

"I never expected to find the secret of my generation's political salvation floating inside a clear glass jar of formaldehyde."

Finalists:

Nikolas Bowie
Yale University

Brie Cubelic
Auburn University

Camila Domonoske
Harrisonburg High School, Harrisonburg, VA

Ziad Jilani
Kennesaw Mountain High School, Kennesaw, GA

LiAnn Yim
New York University

These six essays were chosen from more than 700 entries submitted by high school and college students from 41 states in this first-ever *Nation* Student Writing Contest. All addressed the question of what issue is of most concern to their generation in 800 words or less. The winner received a cash award of $1,000, and her essay was published in the July 17, 2006, issue of *The Nation*. The five finalists received $100 each, and their essays were published at www.thenation.com. For more information on the student writing content and other *Nation* student programs, go to www.thenation.com/student.

The Nation.

Sponsored by the BIL Charitable Trust to recognize and reward the best in student thinking and writing.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LIVE FREE

ABSINTHE

Because of its beautiful and ever-changing green color; its air of danger, seduction and above all else its allegedly psychoactive properties, Absinthe was romanticized and captured in artwork and writings by countless artists, playwrights and authors.

To place an order call

1.800.631.0203 • timelessabsinthe.com

I'm already against the *next* war.

"Against" t-shirt • Item #8064 • sizes S-3X

Products for Progressives since 1979.

Northern Sun Merchandising

T-shirts • Bumperstickers • Buttons • Custom Printing

to order, or for a free catalog • **800.258.8579 xTN**

www.northernsun.com

Wear The Word With Pride.

Liberal

LiberalJewelry.com

Are you counting?

countdown clock, buttons, stickers, hats, golf balls, t-shirts, mugs, & more...

800-749-7939 • www. LastDay.com ©

This Mind for Hire

Research & Analysis

Writer/Editor

Website Designer

nerhaugen.com

newly independent Americans seizing more Western territory than had been occupied during the entire colonial period. It saw Russia expanding rapidly eastward, swallowing up places like Georgia; China consolidating its massive territorial gains of the eighteenth century in regions like East Turkestan (modern-day Xinjiang); and Napoleon building up a continental empire that contained at its height 40 percent of all Europeans. Since Britain possessed a paramount navy, the maritime empire that it greedily accumulated at this time was exceptionally far-flung (and therefore always potentially vulnerable). But the British scarcely needed the Hastings trial to turn them on to empire. One of the oldest, most recurrent forms of political organization in global history, empire was markedly in fashion at the turn of the eighteenth century. Moreover, and contrary to what Dirks implies, neither at this stage nor at any other stage was empire fashionable only among Europeans.

Insofar as the British imperial elite felt compelled to legitimize their actions, most of them looked less to episodes of their own recent history than to the global past: to the great Muslim empires like those of the Ottomans and Mughals, to other once-powerful European empires, like that of Spain, and most of all perhaps to the many accounts of empire contained in the Greek and Roman classics. David Gilmour's *The Ruling Caste* is a learned, thoughtful and beautifully written attempt to unpack the minds as well as the actions of some of these British imperial actors, the members of the Indian Civil Service (the ICS). There were just over 1,000 of them at Queen Victoria's death in 1901, presiding over the administration of more than 300 million people scattered over what is now India, Burma, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The ICS was a small, exclusive group in another respect: Its members came disproportionately from a select number of middle-class British and Irish families who over the decades sent son after son to work in the subcontinent. At one point, there were five Lawrence brothers working there. Thirteen members of the Strachey family (of Lytton Strachey fame) went to India over four generations, and no fewer than thirty members of the Loch family established careers there.

The ICS has remained relatively immune from post-independence assaults on the British imperial record. After 1947 both Pakistan and India modeled their respective independent civil services on it; and only last year India's prime minister, Manmohan Singh, after attacking the Raj's economic exploitation, went on to insist nonetheless that "our judiciary, our legal system, our bureaucracy and our police are all great institutions, derived from British-Indian administration, and they have served our country exceedingly well." Gilmour's perspective on the institution he describes is scarcely a detached one. His book relies overwhelmingly on more than a hundred manuscript collections of onetime ICS men, but he is careful to scrutinize their record and to stress their and their arena's considerable diversity.

This is important because "British" India is sometimes treated whiggishly as a unit, as a nation irrevocably in waiting. Dirks goes so far as to criticize Edmund Burke for having an insufficiently developed "sense of Indian...nationhood." Yet even a century after Burke's death, many leaders of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communities in the subcontinent remained insistent on their respective, necessary separateness. The British invaders, too, are often stereotyped as an unattractive monolith, usually an English one, even though as Gilmour points out, individuals from the so-called Celtic fringe (Scotland, Wales and Ireland) could be as drawn to imperial ideas and adventures as anyone else. In the 1890s Irishmen headed seven of the eight large Indian provinces. Being Irish could make it easier for individuals to identify with colonized non-Europeans. It is possible that Burke's sympathy with oppressed Bengalis, for instance, owed something to his mother's being an Irish Catholic, and consequently disadvantaged in a fiercely Protestant kingdom. But this kind of thinking was not automatic. As Gilmour remarks, a follower of Charles Stewart Parnell, the champion of Irish home rule in the late nineteenth century, "could talk about the 'great and noble Empire' in the same speech in which he denounced the 'unjust and tyrannous system of government in Ireland.'"

And ICS men behaved differently because of where they worked, not just because of where they came from. In Burma many of them married indigenous women, something their counterparts in India rarely did after 1830. If an ICS man served in one of the 680 princely states, quasi-autonomous polities containing more than 60 million of the subcontinent's peoples, his prime task was to establish a rapport with the local ruler, often on the sports field. If, however, he was "district officer" of one of the 250 districts under British direct rule, which were each on average 4,000 square miles in size, an ICS man's life was largely

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

given over to conducting inspections on horseback—of local canals, road-building, railways, famine provision, legal business, sanitary arrangements, female education, forest maintenance, riot control, etc.—although he was rarely on his own. The success of the British administrative system was always heavily dependent on "hundreds of thousands" of Indian auxiliaries who dominated the lower and middle, though not the upper, ranks of the service. Even in 1910, a mere six of every 100 ICS men were Indians.

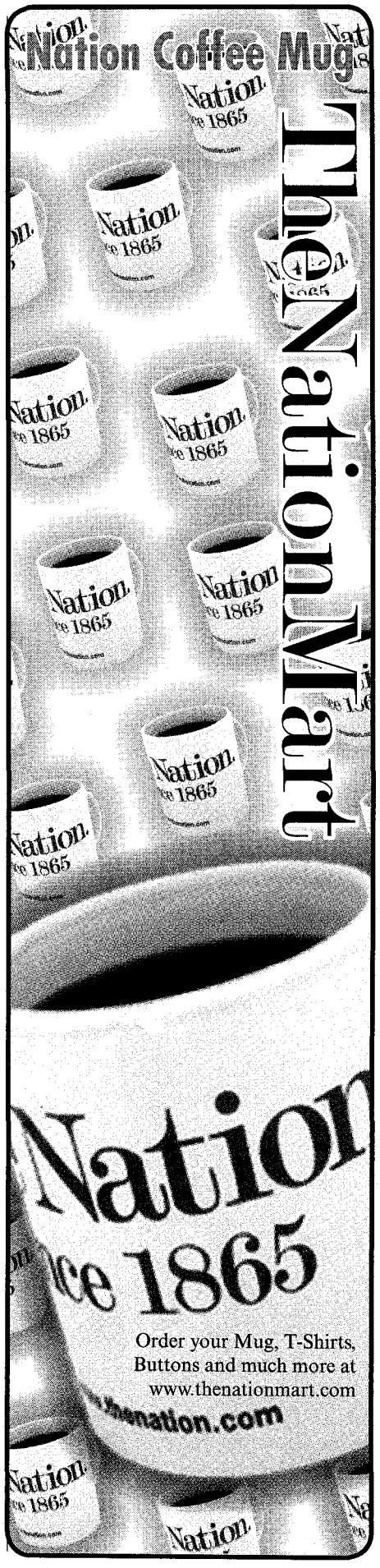
Gilmour is impatient with the idea "that colonial rule was always evil and colonialist motives were invariably bad," and he believes that the majority of ICS men were paternalists rather than racists convinced of the innate inferiority of the millions they were governing. Still, he acknowledges that the ICS's record was fraught with all sorts of contradictions. After 1853 the British were at one level genuinely eager to recruit highly qualified Indians for the ICS, and they changed the rules accordingly. But they were unwilling to transfer the entrance exams for the service from London to locations in the subcontinent because Indian teenagers were thought "infinitely quicker" at such tests than Europeans. The system was to be open to indigenous merit, but not too much, because the British remained divided over whether their long-term aim was to "educate" India's peoples for independence (some British ICS men became Indian nationalists) or to maintain the Raj as long as possible. The reforms and improvements the service implemented were also uneven. By the early twentieth century, India possessed the largest irrigation system in the world and 25,000 miles of railroads. By contrast, mass literacy remained very low, while hunger was sometimes extreme. In the savage famine of 1900, ICS men mobilized relief for 5 million people; but in 1865, 1 million people starved in Orissa, in part because British officials there remained wedded to strict notions of political economy.

This kind of balance-sheet approach to particular empires in particular places—awarding a plus here, a minus there—is common, yet it does not get one very far. To begin with, imperial actions and events lend themselves to many different interpretations. For Gilmour the ICS's campaign against female infanticide in northern India was self-evidently a good thing. For Dirks such initiatives were designed to advertise the superiority of the imperialists' civilization and thus to legitimize their rule. In fact, both analyses carry weight. In addition, debating whether empire is/was good or bad raises the obvious questions: Which bits of empire are we talking about, and good or bad for whom exactly? One of the limitations of Gilmour's book is that it does not address significantly how those on the receiving end viewed the ICS men's endeavors. It conveys brilliantly and vividly the strange quality of these individuals' lives: their incessant hard work, their loneliness, the problems of their wives, the challenges of sickness and heat in a world without antibiotics or air-conditioning, the moments of heady idealism and exhilaration at doing "government on a rather grand scale" and, on the other hand, the hardships that many of these men experienced in India and the incomprehension they encountered back home. But indigenous perspectives on the ICS are rarely excavated.

The biggest need for Gilmour, as with Dirks, is a far wider context. If ever there was an argument for the utility of global comparative history, it is empire. How much may be gained from such an approach is suggested, for instance, by Charles S. Maier's recent study *Among Empires: American Ascendancy and its Predecessors*. As he argues in this brilliant series of reflections, properly analyzing empire demands a wide lens ("To write about having an empire is to ask about world politics") and a recognition that this kind of expansion of rule has taken different forms, while also possessing certain characteristic features:

> Empire is a form of political organization in which the social elements that rule in the dominant state...create a network of allied elites in regions abroad who accept subordination in international affairs in return for the security of their position in their own administrative unit.... Some colonies are remote and overseas, some are spatially contiguous to the core territory.

The British could never have established themselves in India without the decline of the Mughal empire or the active support of certain indigenous elites and interests. They could not have dominated the subcontinent in the nineteenth century if the Napoleonic empire had triumphed or if the United States, Russia and China had not been preoccupied with creating and maintaining their respective overland empires; and the fall of British India, and of other European colonies in the twentieth century, was due not simply to indigenous nationalism but also to the emergence of American global hegemony. It follows that the tendency to approach



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

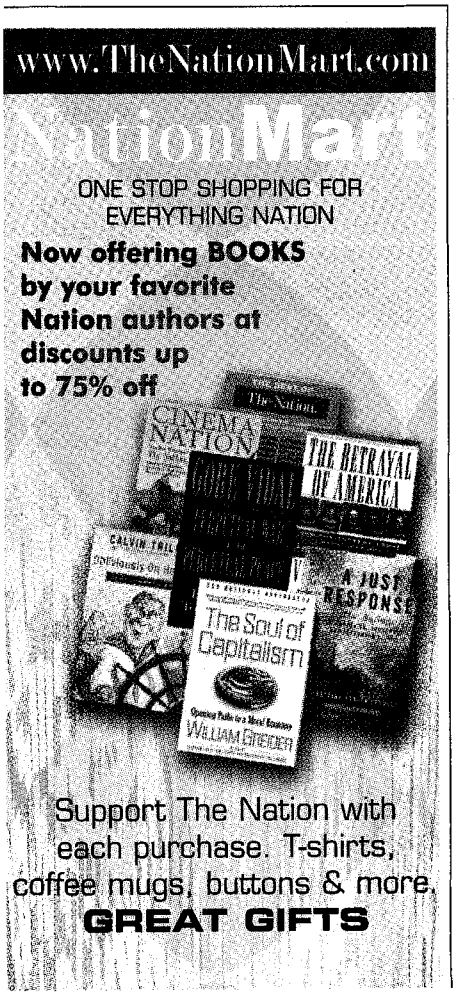
EVENTS

NATIONAL

2006 URPE SUMMER CONFERENCE

■ Nationalism, Internationalism and Nature. Friday, August 11, to Monday, August 14. Camp Deer Run, Pine Bush, New York. New location and new dates! Register by July 28. Plenaries include: "Wars and Natural Resources," with Wadi'h Halabi, William Tabb and Salimah Valiani; "Katrina: Race and Class," with Preston Smith and Linwood Tauheed and Khalil Tian Shahyd; "Latin America: Breaking the Mold," with David Barkin, Leda Pauli and Fred Rosen; and the David Gordon Lecture ("Changes in U.S. Capitalism Since the Reagan Era: Where Are We Now?"), by Michael Reich. And lots of other workshops! Camp Deer Run, located at the foot of the Shawangunk Mountains, provides opportunities for swimming, basketball, volleyball, badminton and hiking. Children are welcome. Rates: sliding scale. For more information, contact URPE at urpe@labornet.org or (413) 577-0806. Visit our website: www.urpe.org.

The advertising deadline for Events is every Thursday. Rates: $200 for 50 words; $250 for 75 words, additional words (above 75) $2.00 each. To place an ad, call Leigh at (212) 209-5414.


www.TheNationMart.com
NationMart
ONE STOP SHOPPING FOR EVERYTHING NATION
Now offering BOOKS by your favorite Nation authors at discounts up to 75% off
The Nation.
CINEMA NATION
THE BETRAYAL OF AMERICA
A JUST RESPONSE
The Soul of Capitalism
WILLIAM GREIDER
Support The Nation with each purchase. T-shirts, coffee mugs, buttons & more.
GREAT GIFTS

empire as a peculiarly European psychosis, occurring only in particular centuries in the past, is misleading. Empire cannot be compared to Fascism (a mode of politics confined to some decades in the twentieth century) or to slavery (a practice that most, alas not all, people have disavowed). Far better analogies are war or religious zealotry. Exactly like them, empire—the direct or indirect invasion of another people's sovereignty—has often proved fearfully disruptive and violent. But like them, too, empire has been ubiquitous, multi-stranded and recurrent, and is far from being over.

Consequently, it is not simply for scholarly reasons that a broader, more comparative understanding of empire is desirable. It is necessary in order better to comprehend the present, not least (though not only) in the United States. One of the drawbacks of—indeed, one of the reasons for—the popularity in this country of postcolonial analysis, for all its undoubted achievements, is that it tends to encourage a kind of displacement activity. Consciously or not, interest in and anxiety and guilt about America's past overland expansion and current global pre-eminence are projected onto the imperial past of Europe, a continent that has traditionally served as the American "other." *The Scandal of Empire* illustrates this beautifully; Dirks makes clear that he decided to write about the Hastings impeachment partly in response to the attempted impeachment of President Clinton and the Iraq War. Instead of such an indirect way of going about things, might it not be useful if, as well as focusing on past European imperial exertions and iniquities, American academics began devoting rather more time to teaching, writing on and taking seriously US imperial history?

But the need for a broad, eclectic and inquiring vision in regard to empire goes far beyond the United States and Europe. Some decades ago, Reinhold Niebuhr coined the term "imperial nation" for polities that had been constituted in the past by imperial exertions and still behaved in some respects in an imperial manner. Without exception, all of today's great powers—not only the United States but also India, China and post-Soviet Russia—are imperial nations in this sense, as Sikh, Kashmiri, Tibetan and Chechen nationalists would be the first to argue. Last year, Beijing and New Delhi signed a significant compact. The former undertook to recognize India's rights over Sikkim, a onetime independent principality annexed by India in 1975; the latter agreed to accept Chinese control over Tibet. This was an agreement between Asia's two most powerful nations. But it was also an illustration of how modes of empire are still with us and continue to take new, insidious and influential forms. ■

FILMS

Sea Sick

STUART KLAWANS

PIRATES OF THE CARIBBEAN: DEAD MAN'S CHEST • EDMOND • THE MOTEL • GABRIELLE • TIME TO LEAVE • THE BLOOD OF MY BROTHER

It was a dark and slimy film—and yet, as it wound its way slowly into the third hour, it undeniably lit people up. Looking around the movie house, you could see instant-message screens glowing everywhere, as a bored preview audience distracted itself from *Pirates of the Caribbean: Dead Man's Chest*.

To be rained on incessantly; to be chained and flogged; to be slapped in the face with tentacles, spewed with mucous, drowned in murk, subjected to an endless booming racket and repeatedly tortured, gerbil-like, upon different versions of the medieval wheel: These are only some of the imaginative pleasures for which the Walt Disney Company now expects you to pay. And because the sadistic merchant wields corporate power at its most omnipresent, submissive millions are even now presenting themselves to be "entertained," with nothing but cellphone flashes to signal a feeble and belated resistance.

Two and a half hours of cinematic slog, lightened for only a second or two by Johnny Depp's mugging or Keira Knightley's kisser; and at the end, poor sucker, you learn there is no end, but only a come-on for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pirates of the Caribbean 3! Had this insult to the nervous system been inflicted in darkest February, when studios clear their shelves, you might have understood the affront, if not excused it. But *Pirates of the Caribbean: Dead Man's Chest* is a summer blockbuster, and so it gives frightening evidence that its studio felt no need to do better.

That's why the rest of this column will deal with less profitable films—ones that are so small they almost didn't get produced, or had to be made by French people.

First presented on stage at the start of the Reagan era, when it was arguably least welcome and most needed, David Mamet's *Edmond* is probably as close as we'll get to an American *Woyzeck*. Composed as a sequence of short, stark dialogues, it is the fable of an exemplary figure sucked down into his fated hell. This being America, the character is not a wretched soldier but a horny middle-aged salaryman, fatally ignorant of the world that lies beyond his white skin and business suit; the destiny is as much chosen as ordained, and hell, when it's finally reached, has a warm, redemptive glow. That said, *Edmond* is one efficient punch in the gut. Now it is also a perfectly efficient, breathtaking movie.

A pause for disclosure: I worked with David Mamet years ago and am proud to have been a member of the theater company once run by Stuart Gordon, director and co-producer of this new *Edmond*. So if you want a review by someone who has never been touched by talented people, please consult another critic. This one says that every moment of *Edmond* is extraordinary.

Gordon feels this material. His camera direction has the swift, spare expressiveness of classic Hollywood noir, and none of the mannerism of today's imitations. His casting is impeccable, down to the smallest role. And in his support of the actors, he never falters—especially with William H. Macy, who finds, and lives, every nuance of the daunting title role.

It's a truism that actors must accommodate themselves to the instruments they were given; and Macy, as has been evident since *Fargo*, was born to play men with rumpled, desperate faces. But watch how he exceeds himself here, as he spews platitudes (sometimes wincing as he hears them), tries on and abandons a grin that's no longer boyish, masks his sexual shame (and so exposes it) with a show of self-righteous shrewdness and, at the dreadful center of the story, bursts with joyful wisdom, or its manic counterfeit. He's high on life. He's just stomped a black man half to death, and yelled really bad words while doing it.

You may wonder where's the pleasure in such a movie—especially when you learn that I haven't told the half of it. Well, that's the pleasure: *Edmond* doesn't stop halfway but tells all. There's exhilaration in seeing to the bottom of things you ordinarily don't even want to look at. And in this tightly budgeted film, there's also a paradoxical exhilaration of scale. Bursting out of the logistical constraints is a tremendous performance, given in the service of a huge and terrible theme.

Squirrel-cheeked 13-year-old Ernest (Jeffrey Chyau) has no need to learn about sex in the gutter. He gets groans, grunts and smelly leftovers right at home, by living and working in his mother's hot-sheets motel. The place sits in semi-isolation on an exurban road, identified by a generic sign that also serves to name this film: *The Motel*.

For any nearsighted chubby boy who likes homework, puberty is already going to be a trial, even without a flinty mother (Jade Wu) who collects overtime charges by breaking in on her naked guests and threatening them with a baseball bat. Sex, for Ernest, is a promise simultaneously flourished and squelched—much like the recognition he's just won in a writing contest but is forbidden to claim. He can't go to the awards dinner because, according to his mother, "honorable mention" means that Ernest wasn't even good enough to lose.

If he is ever to grow out of this trap, Ernest will need a friend, a teacher, a model—and so one blows into the office one afternoon, bringing with him a giggling hooker and a bad credit card. Sam (Sung Kang) is handsome and breezy and drives a sharp car. He may not be able to pay, but he chums up readily, and Ernest wants him around. It doesn't at first occur to him to ask why Sam has nowhere else to go, or why he would seek the company of a 13-year-old. If Sam wants to offer tutelage, Ernest will accept, for both good and ill.

Written and directed by Michael Kang, *The Motel* is a quiet charmer: modest but precise in visual style, and always tactful about its characters. It never tells you more about them than you can figure out on your own. The film is now rolling out for national release, having recently opened at New York's Film Forum.

Confined in its setting to a townhouse interior, concentrated in action within thirty-six hours and focused intently on one married couple, *Gabrielle* would conform very comfortably to the rules of chamber drama if it didn't also drip

WINDY OAKS ESTATE

Pinot For Progressives!

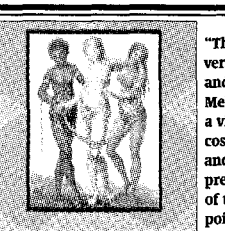
10% OF YOUR ORDER DONATED TO THE NATION ASSOCIATES

RECENT KUDOS FOR WINDY OAKS ESTATE
GOLD MEDAL, 2005 SF CHRONICLE WINE COMPETITION
91 POINTS, EDITORS' CHOICE 11.01.05
WINE ENTHUSIAST MAGAZINE
91 POINTS, PINOT REPORT QUARTERLY

- 100% estate, family vineyard and winery on the California coast.
- Organic practices in the vineyard.
- Dedicated to sustainable agriculture, using biodynamic principles.
- No additives in the winemaking process.
- A pure expression of terroir.

Order from our website.
Indicate in the Comments section of the Wine Order page that you read about us in The Nation

www.windyoaksestate.com
(831) 786-9463

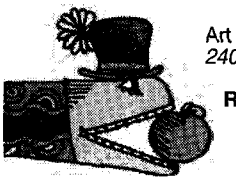


"The American Marx" versus postmodernism and "cultural studies." Melville's work embodies a view of world history, cosmology, and the race and class relations present at the formation of the United States that points toward a higher social form beyond capitalism. Available at Amazon.com, Barnes and Noble, and select stores. By Loren Goldner, home.earthlink.net/~lrgoldner.

www.munism.com/book

New! ***Rhymes for the Irreverent***
by lyricist **Yip Harburg**
("Over the Rainbow," "Paper Moon," "April in Paris")

"We learn this after every war, That life is not worth dying for."



Art by Seymour Chwast
240-page hdbk. $20.00
Freedom From Religion Foundation
PO Box 750-N
Madison WI 53701
www.ffrf.org

CRUISE BY FREIGHTER
TravLtips
Worldwide. First Class
Relaxing. Reasonable
e-mail: info@travltips.com
800-872-8584 www.travltips.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with luxury and ostentation. The film's townhouse is a Belle Epoque *hôtel particulier*, populated with neoclassical statuary in its marble atrium and Proustian dinner guests in the flocked and velvety salon. When entertaining, the master and mistress put on a show for their eighty best friends. When nominally alone, they play to the servants, who are many and ever-present. So this period drama becomes very grand and outgoing for an intimate two-hander: a film that lavishly exposes the private feelings of people who aren't supposed to have any.

Co-written and directed by Patrice Chéreau, based on Joseph Conrad's short story "The Return," *Gabrielle* begins as the monologue of Jean Hervey, whom you might call complacent but who prefers to think of himself as self-confident. As you see his tall, lean figure striding through the Parc Monceau section of Paris, a cigar perfuming the waxed ends of his mustache, you hear him on the soundtrack praising his wife as if she were the best of his polished sculptures. Chronically impassive and faultlessly incurious about others, Gabrielle has been, for ten years, the perfect ornament of a social circle where "emotion and failure are feared more than war."

So it's bad for Jean when he comes home one afternoon and finds a note from Gabrielle saying she's left him for another man. It's disastrous that she doesn't keep her word. Before night falls, she's back, having decided not to abscond. Horror-struck, Jean realizes he has no appropriate face to put on this situation. How can he smooth over a rupture that both did and did not happen? As for Gabrielle, who'd gone out to commit adultery as if dressed for a funeral, why did she return? And can she negotiate a new living arrangement with her husband, now that he suddenly, violently wants her to love him?

The answers come down to physiognomy—despite Chéreau's elaborate period detail and chandelier lighting, his use of jarring music (more Second Vienna School than turn-of-the-century Parisian), his trick of sometimes slapping Brechtian titles over the image. For all of this, the force of *Gabrielle* lies in the faces—of Pascal Greggory, whose formidable chin should be a French national monument, and of Isabelle Huppert, the only possible choice for a woman "whose every thought and feeling shows on her skin." He is a block of stone, which fractures with a piercing, terrible crack and then slowly crumbles before your eyes. And she is the chisel: keen, resolute and direct.

This summer the Museum of Modern Art has honored the prolific François Ozon with a series titled "Ozon at the Beach." Simultaneously, the writer-director's most recent film, *Le Temps Qui Reste* (Time to Leave), is making its way into American theaters, carrying with it the usual Ozon baggage: sand, sea, a grande dame of French cinema (Jeanne Moreau this time), a sex scene with a busty blonde (Valeria Bruni-Tedeschi), two or three grams of cocaine and a corpse.

A young, beautiful corpse-in-the-making: *Time to Leave* is the story of a 31-year-old fashion photographer (Melvil Poupaud) who has just been diagnosed with an inoperable cancer. Given perhaps three months to live, the professionally superficial Romain neither confides in his friends and family nor strives to make the most of his time. Instead, he gives up working, pushes out his live-in boyfriend, excoriates his only sibling and wanders disconsolately through the back rooms of gay bars. Maybe he doesn't misbehave as flamboyantly as does the protagonist of Cyril Collard's *Les Nuits Fauves*—the obvious parallel—but Romain takes the bad news badly, in a way that's credible and ultimately moving.

In the past, I have tended to resist Ozon's immaculate, manipulative style and artifice-laden stories. (His biggest hit, *The Swimming Pool*, struck me as being a Russ Meyer movie with brie.) But in *Time to Leave*, Ozon has poked through the Saran Wrap of his own cleverness to touch on feelings that are simple and sincere. The format is CinemaScope, but the action may be as beautifully tentative as a moment of reconciliation in the park, or as inward as the recollection of a first boyhood kiss.

* * *

Short Take: To the growing list of heart-breaking, indispensable documentaries about the Iraq War, please add *The Blood of My Brother* by Andrew Berends. Opening at the end of July in Los Angeles, it is the first (and no doubt last) film shot by a journalist embedded with Shiite insurgents. It focuses on young Ibrahim, who dreams of revenge for his older brother Ra'ad, now thought to be a martyr after being killed by US troops. You hear from some of these soldiers, too; Berends tries hard to be balanced. But his film's unforgettable moments show the face of pure fury against "Americans and Jews." Let everyone watch, and decide: Just what is this course we're supposed to stay? ■

Classified

While we reserve the right to edit, reject or reclassify any advertisement, The Nation *wishes its readers to know we don't have the facilities to check the promises made by our advertisers, and we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

ACTIVISM

WRITE YOUR OWN PRE-NEED OBITUARY. No subject too risqué. 2153 South Shore Center #146, Alameda, CA 94501. (510) 521-1514. Shocking@Alamedanet.net.

INVESTIGATE FOR YOURSELF! A great World Teacher is here with practical solutions to our most critical problems. Justice, reason and peace will prevail. Free CD, (888) 242-8272 share-international.org/nat.

COUNTDOWN TO NOVEMBER 7! www.sagacious-smartass.com.

HELP STOP WAL-MART IN IOWA CITY! Donations: Iowa City Stop Wal-Mart, 831 Maggard, Iowa City, IA 52240. Gary Sanders, (319) 337-7739. www.iowacitystopwalmart.com.

ANCIENT SECRETS

PROOF JESUS FICTIONAL. Scholarly booklet conclusively proves Flavius Josephus (Romans) created fictional Jesus, authored gospels. Amazing but absolutely incontrovertible! $10, Abelard, Box 5652-A, Kent, WA 98064. (Details, SASE.)

BLOGS/WEB

STUDENTS—looking for a good study break? Visit *The Nation*'s new student web page at www.thenation.com/student. Here you can catch up on news from campuses around the country, request free magazines for your student events, contribute to a weekly online discussion board about controversial issues, read student-related *Nation* articles and keep abreast of upcoming *Nation*-sponsored student conferences, contests and public engagements.

BOOKS

WHY ISN'T AL GORE PRESIDENT? A review of the literature of the Florida 2000 presidential election recount, where Gore won the voting but lost the counting, plus the author's thoughts on the subject. At Xlibris, (800) 775-4274, ext. 276.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMMUNE SYSTEM by H. Kagan, PhD. Why do we keep fighting with ourselves and others? At Authorhouse, (888) 280-7715.

COURT-MARTIAL ADVOCATE

WWW.COURTMARTIALATTORNEY.COM.

EDUCATION

WE ARE PROGRESSIVE EDUCATORS conducting research on college teachers who challenge more than accommodate students. In confidence: mikada@aol.com.

FILM

SEE *SIR! NO SIR!* A terrific film. A weapon to help end the Iraq War. In selected theaters nationally. www.sirnosir.com.

LIBERAL LIAISONS

FiftyPlusConnect.com

Find a date, travel partner, activity partner, e-pal or more. Sign up now. (800) 343-7074.

GREENSINGLES.COM—Free photo ads for progressive singles in the environmental, vegetarian and animal rights communities. Searchable listings for friendship, dating, marriage. Since 1985. www.GreenSingles.com.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified

LIBERAL LIAISONS

Concerned Singles

Links singles concerned about peace, justice, race/gender equity, environment. Since 1984. Nationwide/international. All ages; straight/gay. Free sample: Box 444-NA, Lenox Dale, MA 01242; (413) 243-4350; www.concernedsingles.com.

EROTIC ADULT PHONE CONVERSATION with sensual, intelligent women. Any topic welcome! VISA/MC/AMEX. Call (888) 495-8255.

FETISHES AND FANTASIES fulfilled. Hot erotic talk with creative, sensuous woman. No limits. Personal, confidential. Call (866) 844-8286.

DO YOU HAVE SPANKING FANTASIES? We do, and ours are for sale. For a thirty-five-page catalogue of spanking stories, send $3 to CF Publications, PO Box 706N, Setauket, NY 11733.

SENSUAL, STYLISH PHONE CONVERSATIONS with intelligence, humor and élan. Unrestricted, guaranteed discretion. Alexis, (781) 581-9598.

TAWNY FORD. Exquisitely erotic conversation. Live, personal, unhurried. (248) 615-1300. Credit cards, prepay. www.tawnyford.com.

YOUR SECRET is our secret. www.Secretsphonesex.com, (800) 344-2019.

FLEXIBLE, GOOD LISTENER, retired college teacher, 66. Politically active liberal. Like drama, travel, music: wide range. Religious liberal. Seeking female, 56–66, similar interests, nonsmoker, Cincinnati, OH, area. Reply Nation Box 425.

LESBIAN WRITER/TEACHER, 60, 5 feet 8, 127 lbs. Decent shape, feminine, seeks tall woman for God knows what. (A Bea Arthur type?) Southern California. Reply Nation Box 426.

SAN FRANCISCO MAVERICK: Tall, Dark, Handsome, Stanford '75. Guy seeks genteel, unattached, Left Coast Lady. Reply Nation Box 423.

If responding to a Nation Box number, send replies to: Nation Box ___ , The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

MERCHANDISE

SUPPORT *THE NATION* AND OUR NATION! Shop online at www.thenationmart.com and exercise subtle and not-so-subtle dissent. Most items are union-made. Great gifts!

AS BUSH LIES AND SPIES, OUR FREEDOM DIES. 3-color bumper sticker, 3/$5. Bulk pricing. P.E. Opheim, PO Box 1252, Gig Harbor, WA 98335.

peacebuttons.info.
Buttons, stickers, shirts, signs and more.
Featuring the original 1958 peace symbol.

FREE BUMPER STICKER. Call: (800) 630-1330 or see www.fcnl.org. Friends Committee on National Legislation.

MUSIC

DEAD MEN (are heavier than broken hearts)—new Raymond Chandler jazz tribute CD from Christopher Woitach. www.cdbaby.com/cd/woitach2.

ORGANIZATIONS

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS: Join 11,000 members of the largest association devoted to American history. OAH promotes sound historical research, analysis and presentation through programs and activities, and strives to make US history more accessible to the greater public. OAH includes professional historians and many others who share their passion for the American past. Publishers of the OAH *Magazine of History* and the *Journal of American History*, and editor of *The Best American History Essays*. OAH hosts an annual convention each spring. The *Magazine* is a powerful and accessible resource for those interested in American history and the *Journal* is the leading scholarly journal of the subject, while the annual meeting offers the best new work in US history research. If you have an interest in the American past, join the OAH. For information, visit: www.oah.org.

HARTFORD, CT, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meets monthly on the first Sunday at 2 PM. The Smith House, Trinity College, Hartford, CT 06106. For more info contact Suzi Smith, (860) 693-8549, suzismith@comcast.net.

POLICY

END THE DRUG WAR. See www.CommonSenseDrugPolicy.org, www.DrugWarFacts.org, www.DRCNet.org, www.MedicalMJ.org, www.DrugSense.org, www.AddictInTheFamily.org.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

MEDICC, ATLANTA, SEEKS A MARKETING DIRECTOR for its bimonthly online and print journal on Cuba's health programs and research (see www.medicc.org). Develop, implement and oversee marketing, distribution. Five years publishing experience required. An informed and interested applicant needed. Cover letter and résumé: director@medicc.org.

***NATION* STUDENT OUTREACH:** Attention student activists! If you're involved in organizing a progressive event, lecture or film festival on your campus or in your community and would like to distribute copies of *The Nation*, please let us know by calling (212) 209-5416.

HOUSING WORKS BOOKSTORE CAFE seeks Manager of Marketing and Special Events. Responsible for management of a full calendar of high-profile literary, music and rental events at SoHo's premier cultural destination. Three years of events and PR/marketing experience in nonprofit or publishing world. Submit résumé, salary requirements and writing sample to shure@housingworks.org. Equal Opportunity Employer.

EDITORIAL INTERNSHIP AT *THE AMERICAN PROSPECT*. Editorial interns assist with fact-checking, research, evaluation of unsolicited manuscripts and other administrative tasks as needed. Interns also work with editors to write articles for The American Prospect Online, and are encouraged to participate in relevant events in Washington, DC. This unpaid internship is full- or part-time and runs in four sessions per year. *The American Prospect* assists interns in arranging for academic or work-study credit whenever possible. Applicants should have an interest in politics and journalism. To apply, please mail, fax or e-mail a cover letter, résumé, two writing samples (clips preferred) and one letter of recommendation to: Melissa Thompson, The American Prospect, 2000 L Street NW, Suite 717, Washington, DC, 20036. Fax: (202) 776-0740. E-mail: mthompson@prospect.org. www.prospect.org.

***THE NATION* MAGAZINE SEEKS DIRECT MAIL COPYWRITERS** for its fundraising and circulation departments. Candidates must be highly creative, intelligent writers with strong track records. Familiarity with and affinity for progressive issues and willingness to work at *Nation* rates a plus. Please send letters of inquiry and samples to Peggy Randall, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, 8th Floor, New York NY 10003 or e-mail prandall@thenation.com. No calls, please.

PROGRESSIVE PR JOBS NEWSLETTER. Find jobs. Post jobs in progressive communications. Visit www.truespinconference.com/jobs.

PSYCHOTHERAPY

SAN FRANCISCO PSYCHOTHERAPIST: treats depression, anxiety, relationship issues, crises and trauma. Consultation available. CC. Paula Holt, LCSW, (415) 289-6990.

WOMAN CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGIST, twenty-five years' experience. Insight-oriented and analytic. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Mutually agreed-upon fees. Insurance accepted. Carnegie Hall vicinity. Margaret Kinder, PhD. (212) 582-5508.

DOWNTOWN NEW YORK THERAPIST. Creativity and its discontents. Artists, activists, academics and all. Robert McVey, CSW. (212) 330-7114.

CHICAGO PSYCHOTHERAPIST—Treat depression, anxiety, relationship problems, etc. Specialize in concerns of artists and academics. Sliding scale, insurance. Deborah Hellerstein LCSW (312) 409-9516.

NEW YORK PSYCHOTHERAPY GROUP. Referrals to experienced licensed therapists. Moderate fees. (212) 673-0884. www.nypsychotherapy.com.

MEDICARE FOR ALL someday. For now, help for seniors and those disabled. Experienced Midtown Manhattan psychotherapist. Cuyler Christianson, LCSW. (212) 245-2161.

DYNAMIC/ANALYTIC PSYCHOTHERAPY by University of Chicago–educated CSW, Park Slope office. More information, contact: www.fromreminiscences.com.

RADIO

UNFORGETTABLE STORIES. Extraordinary sound. Hear the best radio documentaries from around the world. www.thirdcoast-festival.org.

REAL ESTATE

SANTA FE PROGRESSIVE REALTOR® seeks same in clients. Peter Kahn, Prudential Santa Fe (800) 418-1221 x171 toll free. (505) 690-4840 mobile or pkahn@keshi.com.

MANHATTAN STATE OF MIND. Downtown specialist. Renters/Relocators. Dedicated, progressive broker. Bruce Fields, (917) 734-6979, bruce.fields@gmail.com.

BERKLEY CA. Work with The Realtor Who's on Your Side. Norma J.F. Harrison. (510) 526-3968. (866) 264-9029. NormaHa@pacbell.net.

LOS ANGELES/SOUTH BAY progressive realtor seeks progressive clients. Phil Lucero with TRG. (310) 722-5067, phil_lucero@msn.com.

SPANISH STUDY

LEARN SPANISH, explore socio-political and economic realities that profoundly affect Central America. ICADS, with three award-winning programs, has openings in its Costa Rica and Nicaragua fall semester programs. Gain experience and fluency while working for justice in healthcare, education, sustainable development, labor, fair trade and women's co-ops. Full academic credit. Great gap year option. info@icads.org. www.icads.org.

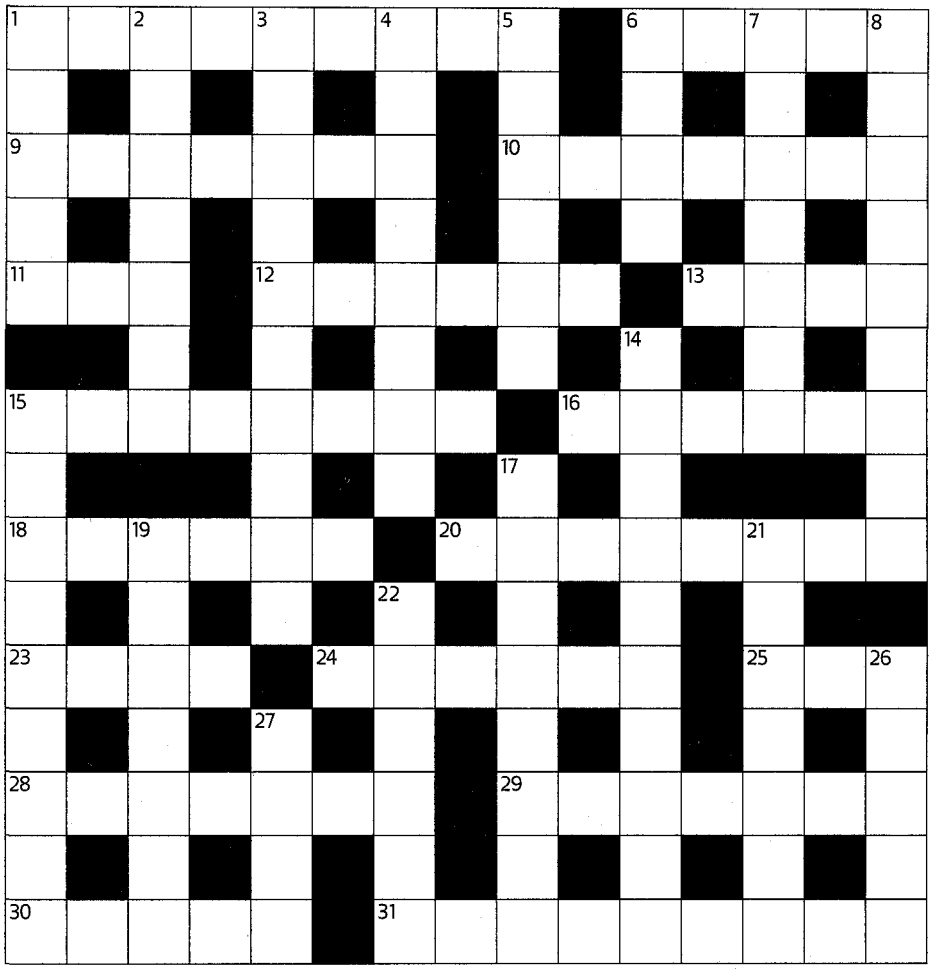
CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Contact Leigh at (212) 209-5414 or leigh@thenation.com. Fax (212) 982-9000 or mail ad and payment to Classified, *The Nation*, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUZZLE NO. 3044

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Sometimes said to be half done, but the waterhole has at least been started. (4,5)

6 See 18

9 The broken-down horse carries a second-class container, which implies "taking ways." (7)

10 It may be fishy, but a couple of cups have a bit of trouble making it. (7)

11, 27 down and **24** Have a chair, and get all the pins at once—which may be a labor action. (3-4,6)

12 and **16** With too much weight on the lady's shape to be the traditional head of the family? (6,6)

13 and **23** In literature and history, it might represent a wake, but at this place a political division. (8)

15 Certainly not an enlightened period—with a number on the old boat carrying a sage mixture. (4,4)

16 See 12

18 and **6** Engages in a risky business, according to the SG—taking what holds the carpet down to be "belchers." (11)

20 See 5 down

23 See 13

24 See 11

25 The gangster's gun backfires, and you'll find one on the corpse's toe. (3)

28 When what the players do doesn't count, with the tiny fellow having a point not safe. (4,3)

29 Seems an awful mess, but things get together this way. (2,5)

30 What the man at the plate might hope to be, even though it's a common argument. (3-2)

31 A place to sleep, and the article a common man put on, with an expression mathematicians would recognize. (9)

DOWN

1 and **27** With no breeze, what the unattended clock does, perhaps, or the overworked worker. (5,4)

2 With a high ball you get at least a broken rest before getting a seafood delicacy. (7)

3 Very short spells of sickness, which businessmen often have—especially lawyers? (10)

4 Doesn't describe the "gofer"—but one is really busy. (2-6)

5 and **20** across Cut before flowering, as we hope bad deeds might be. (6,2,3,3)

6 More than one can bring it up with opposing directions. (A hissy fit blows up!) (4)

7 Tom over the water, if in Paris—which is home to some. (7)

8 Definitely not quick—but completely intoxicated with a sort of ade. (5-4)

14 One who uses a large boat—being the guy who carries less weight. (10)

15 This is comparatively dull. China came clean with it. (9)

17 After getting in, I'd come up with a rather common man—rather broke. (8)

19 A Roman's not exactly the type one might expect to be engaged in a row! (7)

21 Willow, as some say, placed on the wrong site, which is made of a fine fabric. (7)

22 One way to make the cat sit when making a disturbing noise. (6)

26 Edgar could be one, as a writer invited into your house. (5)

27 See 11 across

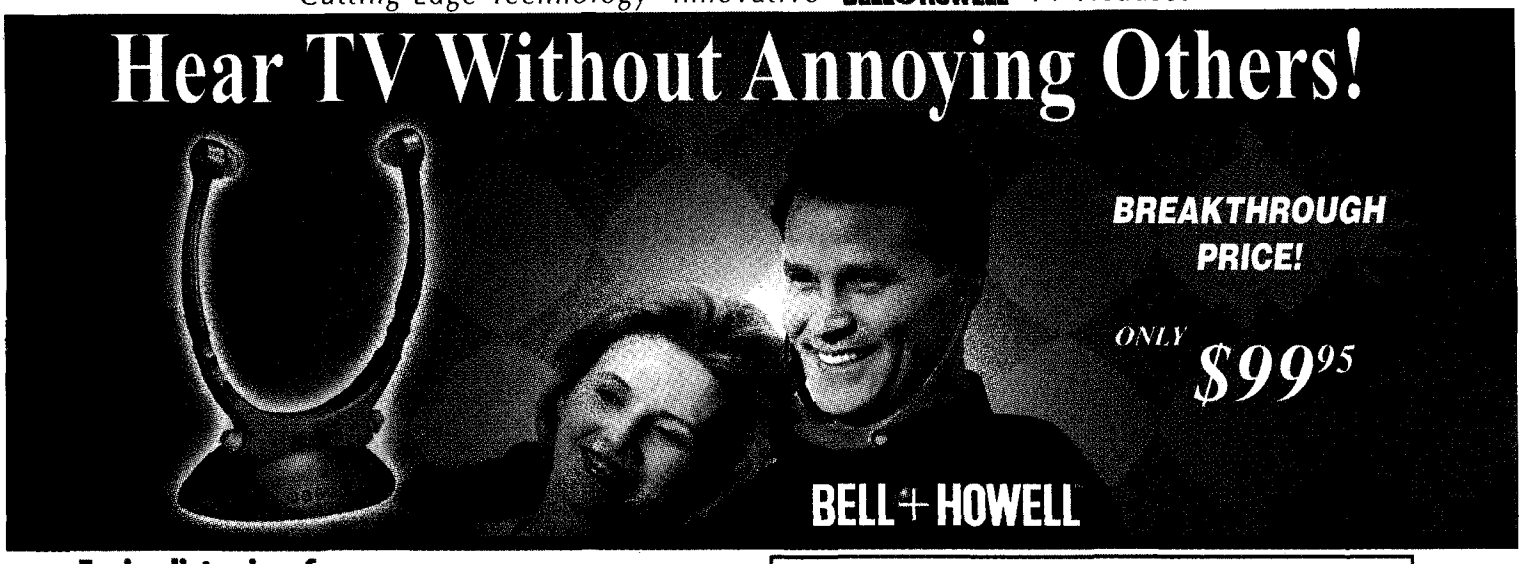
SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 3043

A	T	O	N	E	S	D	E	S	K		A	B	E	T
N		C		N		E		A		P		E		A
I	N	T	E	G	E	R		P	A	H	L	A	V	I
M		O		L		I		P		O		R		L
A	P	P	L	I	E	D	P	H	Y	S	I	C	S	
L		U		S		E		O		P		A		M
H	U	S	H	H	U	S	H		G	H	E	T	T	O
E				C						O				L
A	P	A	T	H	Y		F	A	I	R	C	O	P	Y
T		M		A		M		N		E		R		B
	C	H	A	N	G	E	O	N	E	S	M	I	N	D
L		E		N		D		E		C		G		E
I	S	R	A	E	L	I		T	H	E	W	A	I	N
M		S		L		C		T		N		M		U
B	A	T	H		S	I	L	E	N	T	F	I	L	M

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cutting Edge Technology- Innovative **BELL+HOWELL®** *TV Headset*

Hear TV Without Annoying Others!



Easier listening for everyone

- Watch and listen to TV while your husband or wife sleeps
- Transfers hard to distinguish sounds and voices clearly
- Perfect for slight, medium or extreme hearing difficulties
- Works even when TV volume is totally off
- Kids play video games without driving you nuts
- Use at movies, theaters, plays, museums etc where enhanced listening headsets are accommodated

No more shouts of "Turn the TV down!"

There isn't a family we know that hasn't had a conflict over the volume of their TV. Too loud for mom, not loud enough for grandpa, never loud enough for the kids. Now you can listen to TV at your ideal personal volume with the help of the Bell +Howell TV Headset, utilizing innovative sound enhancement.

Clears up sound, sweeps away noise

The Bell+Howell is no ordinary headset. It amplifies volume, but more importantly, it helps those with hearing loss by transferring hard to distinguish sounds and voices clearly. Other cheap amplifiers amplify ALL the sounds so you can't hear the words clearly against all the background noise. The Bell+Howell TV Headset keeps the background noise in the back where it belongs. In addition, sound is adjustable for each ear separately through volume balance control, so you can customize to your listening needs.

Light as a feather comfort

Remember those old fashioned wireless earphones? So bulky and heavy we all looked like helicopter pilots? Replace them with the TV Headset, which weighs a mere 2 ounces. It fits under the chin for the ultimate in comfort- it won't even mess up your hair. The TV Headset is so lightweight you'll barely notice they're on.

Everyone loves this headset

"My wife doesn't complain the TV is too loud anymore"
"We use them at the movies too!"
"My kids are playing video games without blasting the rest of us out of the room."
"It's like having a set of new ears!"
"Grandma refuses to use her hearing aids, but she loves her headset."

LOADED WITH FEATURES:

- Bell+Howell performance
- Safe infrared wireless technology
- Amplifies TV volume and not background sounds
- Hear hard to hear words & voices for crystal clear listening
- Light weight (about 2 ounces)
- Huge wireless range (about 960 square feet!)
- Left / right ear volume balance control for customized listening
- 3 hour quick charge for up to 10 hours of listening
- 4 volt rechargeable batteries included

Base can charge 2 headsets at the same time

More and more theaters, places of worship, and other arenas are accommodating enhanced-listening headsets. So now you'll enjoy public events more than you have for many many years.

Freedom to move about - Totally wireless

Forget annoying leash-like wires. The wireless TV Headset uses safe infrared technology to transmit crystal clear sound from your TV to your headset up to about a huge 960 square foot area!

Bell & Howell Performance

For almost 100 years Bell+Howell has been a leader in providing cutting edge products and electronics. The Bell+Howell® TV Headset features the expertise and quality that you expect from the well-respected Bell+Howell® name.

How can we offer this state-of-the-art headset at such a price?

We have a special arrangement to offer you the Bell+Howell® TV Headset at a fraction of the price of other wireless headsets (due to high volume capabilities). But at this price, we expect our inventory to sell out fast! Ask for special pricing when you buy additional headsets. And we are so sure that you will love this headset that you get a 30-day, 100% money back product guarantee.

WARRANTEED. NOT AVAILABLE IN STORES.

For fastest service, call toll-free

1-800-680-2087

24 hours a day, 7 days a week / we accept checks by phone

BELL+HOWELL®

Bell+Howell® TV Headset Dept. 9492
P.O. Box 3012, Wallingford, CT 06492
To order by mail please call toll free 1-800-680-2087 for details.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Unlock the many healthy benefits of sunshine... ...indoors

More Sunshine More Style More Savings

The Balanced Spectrum Ultra Swing Lamp brings the many benefits of natural daylight indoors to help you see better, feel better and live better. Now it's available at a lower price.

Most of the things we do to improve our lives involve a little work. More exercise, better nutrition, saving for the future...they all take time and involve effort. What if there was a way to improve your life...with the flick of a switch. Well, there is, and the Balanced Spectrum Ultra Swing floor lamp is taking America by storm. Our many satisfied customers use it for reading, writing, crafts, hobbies, or any activity where seeing more clearly with glare-free light is a benefit. We've received many positive testimonials telling us how this technology has changed peoples' lives, and we've listened to people tell us how we can make it even better. Here's what we've done:

A brighter bulb. The Balanced Spectrum Ultra Swing floor lamp's exclusive patented technology features a 42 watt full spectrum bulb, which delivers over 50% more light than most full spectrum lights- It's nearly as bright as a 250 watt incandescent bulb, only there's no harsh glare. You get flicker-free light at the touch of a switch. Plus, even under heavy everyday use, the bulb should last at least 8,000 hours, 10 times longer than an incandescent bulb.

Bigger coverage. Because natural spectrum lighting is better, why not light up more of the room with it? Studies have shown that sunshine can enable people to see and feel better. Unfortunately, sunshine is not always available, and that's where this lamp comes in. This ingenious new design features our new Skylite Dome that allows the lamp to send glare-free light not only down onto the page but up into the room. This ambient light will improve your living space and light up your life.

Better design. Over the years, we've led the way in natural lighting technology. This lamp was exclusively designed to provide a lifetime of use with a sleek European design that will complement any décor. Its flexible gooseneck, pivot-swing design and classic styling featuring satin-finish metal and rich cherry wood make it perfect for any spot in any room in your house. What's more, at an energy savings of around $104 over the life of one bulb, it's easy on your eyes...and your wallet.

Try it for yourself in your own home...exclusive 90-day home trial. There has never been a better time to ad sunshine to every room in your home. Call us today and order the Balanced Spectrum Ultra Swing floor lamp. It comes with a one-year manufacturer's limited warranty and firstSTREET's exclusive guarantee. Try it for 90 days and return it for the product purchase price if you are not completely satisfied.

NATURAL LIGHTING

Balanced Spectrum® Ultra Swing Floor Lamp

Item# ZR-4030 . . . . . was ~~$149.95~~ **$129.95** + s&h

Please mention promotional code 31623

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day

800-549-1142

To order by mail, please call for details.

www.firststreetonline.com

firstSTREET® SEE IT HERE FIRST

1998 Ruffin Mill Road
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

40348

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED